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# HEBRAICA

A Quarterly Journal in the Interests of Semitic Study

VOLUME VII

OCTOBER 1890 - JULY 1891

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# HEBRAICA

VOL. VII.

OCTOBER, 1890.

NO. 1.

## THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION. III. GEN. 37:2-EX. 12:51.

BY PROFESSOR W. HENRY GREEN,

Princeton Theological Seminary.

### A. Gen. 37:2-50:26.

The first thirty-six chapters of Genesis have been discussed in previous articles; and no justification has yet been found for the critical hypothesis that the book is compounded from pre-existing documents. We proceed to inquire whether this hypothesis has any better support in the only remaining section of this book, "the generations of Jacob," 37:2-50:26.

### PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

#### 1. The Unity of Plan.

The divisive hypothesis encounters here in full measure the same insuperable difficulty, which meets it throughout the Book of Genesis, and particularly in the life of Abraham and the early history of Jacob. The unity of plan and purpose, which pervades the whole, so that every constituent part has its place and its function and nothing can be severed from it without evident mutilation, positively forbids its being rent asunder in the manner proposed by the critics. If ever a literary product bore upon its face the evidence of its oneness, this is true of the exquisite and touching story of Joseph, which is told with such admirable simplicity and a pathos that is unsurpassed, every incident grouped with the most telling effect, until in the supreme crisis the final disclosure is made. No such high work of art was ever framed by piecing together selected fragments of diverse origin.

The critics tell us that the apparent unity is due to the skill of the redactor. But the suggestion is altogether impracticable. A writer, who gathers his mate-

rials from various sources, may elaborate them in his own mind and so give unity to his composition. But a redactor, who limits himself to piecing together extracts culled from different works by distinct authors varying in conceptions, method and design, can by no possibility produce anything but patchwork, which will betray itself by evident seams, mutilated figures and want of harmony in the pattern. No such incongruities can be detected in the passage before us by the most searching examination. All that the critics affect to discover vanish upon a fair and candid inspection.

Moreover, the story of Joseph, complete as it is in itself is but one link in a uniform and connected chain, and is of the same general pattern with those that precede it. With striking individual diversities both of character and experience the lives of the several patriarchs are, nevertheless, cast in the same general mould. Divine revelations are made to Joseph at the outset, forecasting his future, 37:5sq., as to Abraham, 12:1sq., and to Jacob, 28:11sq. Each was sent away from his paternal home and subjected to a series of trials, issuing both in discipline of character and in ultimate prosperity and exaltation. And the story of Joseph fits precisely into its place in the general scheme, which it is the purpose of Genesis to trace, by which God was preparing and training a people for himself. By a series of marvelous providences, as the writer does not fail to point out, 45:5,7; 50:20, the chosen seed was preserved from extinction and located within the great empire of Egypt, as had been already foreshown to Abraham, 15:13sq., that they might unfold into a nation ready, when the proper time should arrive, to be transplanted into Canaan.

These broad and general features, in which the same constructive mind is discernible throughout, are lost sight of by critics, who occupy themselves with petty details, spying out doublets in every emphatic repetition or in the similar features of distinct events, finding occasions of offence in every transition or digression however natural and appropriate, and creating variance by setting separate parts of the same transaction in antagonism, as though each were exclusive of the other, when in fact they belong together and are perfectly consistent, or by dislocating phrases and paragraphs from their true connection and imposing upon them senses foreign to their obvious intent. These artifices are perpetually resorted to by the critics, and constitute in fact their stock arguments, just because they refuse to apprehend the author's plan, and to judge of the fitness of every particular from his point of view, but insist instead upon estimating everything from some self-devised standard of their own.

Vater, to whom the Pentateuch was a mass of heterogeneous fragments, and who was ready to go to any length in the work of disintegration, nevertheless says\* that the history of Joseph is "a connected whole. To rend it asunder

\* *Commentar über d. Pentateuch*, I, p. 290; III., p. 435.

would be to do violence to the narrative." And Tuch, who finds a double narrative throughout the rest of Genesis, declares that it is impossible to do so here. "Several wrong courses have been ventured upon," he says,\* "in respect to the narrator of the life of Joseph. Some relying upon insecure or misunderstood criteria have sought to extort two divergent accounts. Others have held that the documents have been so worked over that it is impracticable to separate them with any degree of certainty. But we must insist upon the close connection of the whole recital, in which one thing carries another along with it, and recognize in that which is continuously written the work of one author." And he adds† respecting ch. 37: "This section in particular has been remarkably maltreated by the divisive document and redactor hypotheses of Ilgen and Gramberg without bringing forth anything but an arbitrary piece of mosaic work, which is shattered by the inner consistency and connection of the passage itself." The posthumous editor of Tuch's Commentary interposes the caveat that "since Hupfeld and Böhmer, the unity of the history of Joseph can no longer be maintained." But the fact is that no inconsistencies have since been pretended in this narrative, which were not already pointed out by Ilgen and Gramberg. Whether the later attempts to establish duplicate accounts have been more successful than those which Tuch so pointedly condemns, we shall inquire presently.

The urgent motive, which impels the most recent critics to split the history of Joseph asunder at all hazards is thus frankly stated by Wellhausen:‡ "The principal source for this last section of Genesis is JE. It is to be presumed that this work is here as elsewhere compounded of J and E. Our previous results urge to this conclusion, and would be seriously shaken if this were not demonstrable. I hold, therefore, that the attempt "to dismember the flowing narrative of Joseph into its sources" is not a mistaken one, but as necessary as the decomposition of Genesis in general."

## 2. Lack of Continuity in the Documents.

If distinct documents have been combined in this portion of Genesis, the critical analysis which disentangles them and restores each to its original separateness, might be expected to bring forth orderly narratives, purged of interpolations and dislocations, with the true connection restored and a consequent gain in each in significance, harmony and clearness. Instead of this there is nothing to show for P, J or E but mutilated fragments, which yield no continuous or intelligible narrative, but require for their explanation and to fill their *lacunae* precisely those passages which the critical process has rent from them. We are expected to assume with no other evidence than that the exigencies of the

\* *Commentar über die Genesis*, 2d ed., p. 417.

† *Ibid.*, p. 424.

‡ *Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 52.



hypothesis require it, that these P, J and E fragments were originally filled out into as many complete documents, but that the missing parts were removed by R.

### 3. The Divine Names.

The divine names here give no aid in the matter of critical division. Yahweh occurs in but three of these fourteen chapters, and in only eight verses, each time with evident appropriateness. It is found in connection with displays of God's punitive righteousness toward offenders 38:7,10 (no other name of God in the chapter), or his gracious care of Joseph as one of the chosen race, 39:2,3,5,21, 23 (inseparable from the rest of the chapter, where Elohim is found, v. 9), and in a pious ejaculation of the dying patriarch Jacob, 49:18, (in the same discourse with Elohim and Shaddai, v. 25). Hupfeld, *Quellen*, p. 178, confesses the embarrassment, which the critics find from the use of אֱלֹהִים in the history of Joseph in a manner which does not square with their maxims.

### 4. Diction and Style.

Neither is the partition conducted on the basis of such literary criteria as diction and style. Mere scattered scraps are assigned to P, such as can be severed from the main body of the narrative, as entering least into its general flow and texture. The mass of the matter, as has uniformly been the case since ch. 23, is divided between J and E, which by confession of the critics can only be distinguished with the greatest difficulty. At times they are held to be inextricably blended; at other times arbitrary grounds of distinction are invented, such as assigning to E all dreams that are mentioned, or different incidents of the narrative are parcelled between them, as though they were varying accounts of the same thing, whereas they are distinct items in a complete and harmonious whole. Genealogical tables, dates, removals, deaths and legal transactions or ritual enactments are as a rule given to P. Historical narratives are attributed to J and E, and are divided between them not by any definite criteria of style, but by the artifice of imaginary doublets or arbitrary distinctions, leaving numerous breaks and unfilled gaps in their train. The method itself is sufficient to condemn the whole process and to show that the results are altogether factitious. It could be applied with equal plausibility and with like results to any composition, whatever the evidence of its unity.

## SECTION 10. GEN. 37:2-41:57.

### 1. Critical Partition of Chapter 37.

No name of God occurs in this chapter. It has, however, been variously divided, and it affords a good illustration of the ease with which a narrative embracing several incidents can be partitioned at the pleasure of the critic. Knobel,

the latest and most minutely elaborate of the supplementary critics, recognizes in Genesis only an Elohist Primary Document, P, which gives a comparatively trustworthy statement of facts, and a Jehovist Reviser, J, who incorporates with the preceding the legendary embellishments of later times. P's account, vs. 1-4, 23, 27, 28 (from "and sold," etc.), 31, 32a, is that Joseph's reporting his brothers' misdeeds and his father's partiality for him so exasperated his brothers that they threw him into a pit, and then at Judah's instance sold him to Ishmaelites, who took him to Egypt; after this they dip Joseph's coat in blood and send it to their father. J adds from some other authority the prophetic dreams, Joseph's going in quest of his brothers, their conspiring against him, Reuben's proposal not to shed his blood but to put him in a pit (meaning, in the intent of the authority from which he draws, to let him perish there; but by inserting v. 22b, J converts this into a purpose to restore him to his father, and further introduces in the same vein vs. 29, 30, Reuben's subsequent distress at not finding Joseph in the pit). J makes no mention of the adoption of Reuben's proposal, but this is to be presumed as Midianites pass, who draw Joseph out of the pit and sell him to Potiphar. Finally Jacob's grief is depicted at the sight of his son's coat, which was sent him.

The reigning critical fashion finds three documents in Genesis, P, J and E, though this chapter is parcelled between J and E, leaving to P only an insignificant fragment at the beginning. Vatke gives the entire chapter to E except one interpolation from J, vs. 25-27, and one clause of v. 28, (and sold . . . silver), which records the sale to the Ishmaelites as proposed by Judah. According to E, Joseph was carried off by the Midianites, who chanced to find him in the pit into which his brothers had thrown him. It does not appear from J that Joseph was ever put in a pit at all. So also Gramberg views the case from his peculiar division of the chapter, connecting v. 25 directly with v. 23; the brothers dissemble their spite against Joseph and sit down to their food, when they spy the Ishmaelites coming and resolve to sell him to them. Schrader enlarges the interpolation from J by vs. 23, 24, 31-35 with the effect of transferring the statement of Joseph's being put in the pit and of his father's grief from E to J. This still leaves the whole of the narrative prior to v. 23 with E, and nothing in J respecting the relation of Joseph to his brothers until suddenly, without a word of explanation, they are found deliberating whether to kill him or to sell him as a slave.

Wellhausen is too acute a critic and too ingenious in discovering doublets to suffer this state of affairs to continue. He remarks, *Comp. d. Hex.*, p. 53: "Verses 12-24 are preparatory to vs. 25sq., and are indispensable for both E and J. To be sure no certain conclusion can be drawn from this alone as to its composite character, but a presumption is created in its favor which is confirmed by actual traces of its being double." Acting upon this presumption he sets him-

self to work to discover the traces. It seems to him that "Here am I" is not the proper answer to what Israel says to Joseph, v. 13; and that v. 18 does not fit in between vs. 17 and 19. "They saw him afar off" implies that he had not yet "found them;" and "they conspired against him to slay him" is a parallel to v. 20. Verses 21 and 22 are also doublets, only instead of "Reuben" in v. 21 we should read "Judah," whose proposal is to cast him into the pit, v. 20, to perish without killing him themselves, while Reuben, v. 22, has the secret purpose of rescuing him. From these premises he concludes that while J is the principal narrator in this paragraph, as shown by Israel, v. 13, Hebron v. 14, and verbal suffixes *passim*, nevertheless 13b, 14a, 18, 22 and parts of vs. 23, 24, in which **אָתּוּ** repeatedly occurs instead of a suffix attached to the verb, belong to E and represent his parallel narrative.

In vs. 2b-11 he is less successful in discovering traces of twofold authorship. These verses are attributed to E, who deals more largely with dreams than J, and who, moreover, has **בֶּן זִקְנִים**, v. 3 as 21:2 against **יֶלֶד זִקְנִים** 44:20 J; **כְּתַנֵּת** **פָּסִים**, v. 3, as vs. 23, 32 against **כְּתַנֵּת** J, and especially has **אָתּוּ** constantly, vs. 4, 5, 8, 9, instead of a verbal suffix in marked contrast with vs. 12sq. "With the sons of Bilhah," etc., v. 2, does not accord accurately with the preceding clause, and "he told it to his father and to his brethren," v. 10, deviates from the statement in v. 9; but he thinks these to be additions by a later hand and not from J. He has, however, one resource; vs. 19, 20, J, speak of Joseph's dreams, consequently J must have given some account of them, though it has not been preserved.

Dillmann proves in this instance to have had sharper eyes than Wellhausen, and has found the desired doublets where the latter could discover none. To be sure he unceremoniously sets aside Wellhausen's criteria. He gives vs. 19, 20 to E (not J) in spite of repeated verbal suffixes which he will not recognize here as a discriminating mark, in spite, too, of **הִלְזָה** which occurs 24:65 J, and nowhere else in the O. T.; and accordingly he does not allow the inference that J gave a parallel account of the dreams. But the coveted parallel is found by setting vs. 3, 4 as J's explanation of the hatred of Joseph over against that of E in vs. 5-11. According to J, his brothers hated him because he was his father's favorite; according to E, because of his ambitious dreams.\* J says "they hated him," v. 4 **וַיִּשְׁנֹא**; E, "they envied him," v. 11 **וַיִּקְנְאוּ**. To be sure **שָׂנָא** occurs twice over in the E paragraph, vs. 5, 8, and with explicit reference to v. 4, clearly indicating the identity of the writer. But if any one imagines that such a trifle as this can disturb a critic's conclu-

\* Dillmann explains the allusion to Joseph's mother, 37:10, whose death is mentioned, 35:19, by his favorite method of transposition, assuming that the statement of her death in E really occurred after this time, but R for the sake of harmonizing with P, inserted it sooner. But it remains to be shown that Leah could not be referred to in this manner after Rachel's death.

sions, he is much mistaken. Dillmann blandly says that the unwelcome clauses were inserted by R, and lo! they disappear at once. The word of a critic is equal to the wand of a magician. When he says that v. 5b is inappropriate where it stands because the actual recital of the dream follows, vs. 6,7, Delitzsch reminds him that such anticipatory announcements are quite usual, and cites 2:8. He says the same of v. 8b, because only one dream had yet been told, forgetting the numerous examples of the generic use of the plural.\* כְּתַנַּת and בֵּן זְקֵנִים פְּסִים, v. 8, which Wellhausen adduces as characteristic of E, become with Dillmann indicative of J. Knobel remarks that v. 7 and 26:12 are the only two passages in the Pentateuch, in which the patriarchs are spoken of as cultivating the soil or otherwise than as nomads; they should therefore be ascribed to the same hand. The critics lay stress upon a point like this when it suits them; otherwise they quietly ignore it. Dillmann gives v. 7 to E; 26:12 to J.

Dillmann further finds a foothold for J in v. 2, by insisting that 2a and 2b are mutually exclusive and that the former should be given to P or E, and the latter to J. Delitzsch cannot see why in point of matter they may not have proceeded from the same pen, while in grammatical construction Gen. 1:2,3 offers a precise parallel.

Critics are divided in opinion as to the share which is to be allowed P in 37:2. By common consent they assign him the initial words "These are the generations of Jacob," i. e., an account of Jacob's family from the time of his father's death; and thus we have a P title to a J and E section. The majority also refer to him the following clause, "Joseph was seventeen years old," with or without the rest of the sentence, which then becomes utterly unmeaning and is out of connection with anything whatever. The only reason for thus destroying its sense by severing it from the narrative to which it belongs is the critical assumption that all dates must be attributed to P. But Nöldeke himself revolts at the rigorous enforcement of this rule. He says,† "The mention of the youthful age of Joseph suits very well in the whole connection as well as that of his manly age, Gen. 41:46, and of the advanced age which he attained, Gen. 50:26. These numbers also have no connection whatever with the chronological system of the Primary Document (P) any more than the twenty years' abode in Mesopotamia," Gen. 31:38,41.

It will not be necessary to proceed with the recital of the varying divisions of Kuenen, Kittell and Kautzsch, which are sufficiently indicated, p. 2.‡ The critics themselves have shown how variously the same narrative may be divided. And it must be a very intractable material indeed that can resist the persistent application of such methods as the critics freely employ. The fact that different

\* Cf. Gen. 8:4; 13:12; 21:7; Num. 26:8; Judg. 12:7; 1 Sam. 17:43; Job 17:1.

† *Untersuchungen zur Kritik d. Alt. Test.*, p. 82.

‡ References not otherwise specified are to previous numbers of *HERALD*.

versions of a story can be constructed out of a narrative by an ingenious partition of its constituent elements by no means proves its composite character. They may be purely subjective, destitute of any historical basis, and of no more value than any clever trick at cross-reading.

It is alleged, however, that there are certain glaring inconsistencies in this chapter, which cannot be otherwise accounted for than as the fusing together of discordant narratives. Four discrepancies are charged.

1. Verses 21,22 it was Reuben, but v. 26 it was Judah, who persuaded the brothers not to put Joseph to death.

2. Verses 25,27,28, 39:1, Ishmaelites, but vs. 28,36, Midianites took Joseph and brought him to Egypt.

3. According to different clauses of v. 28, Joseph was carried off secretly without the knowledge of his brothers, or was sold by them.

4. Verse 36, he was sold to Potiphar, but 39:1 (purged of interpolations), to an unnamed Egyptian.

These imaginary difficulties are of easy solution.

As to the first. It surely is not surprising that two of the brothers should have taken an active part in the consultations respecting Joseph, nor that the same two should be prominent in the subsequent course of the transactions. Reuben, as the eldest, had special responsibilities and would naturally be forward to express his mind: while Judah's superior force of character, like that of Peter among the apostles, made him prompt to take the lead, and there is no inconsistency in what is attributed to them. Reuben persuaded them not to kill Joseph but to cast him alive into a pit, cherishing the purpose, which he did not divulge to them, to restore him to his father. They accede to his proposal intending to let Joseph die in the pit or to kill him at some future time. To this state of mind Judah addresses himself, v. 26. The absence of Reuben, when Joseph was sold, is not expressly stated, but is plainly enough implied in his despair and grief at his brother's disappearance. The reply which his brothers made is not recorded; but there is no implication that they were as ignorant as he of what had become of Joseph. That they had a guilt in the matter which he did not share is distinctly intimated, 42:22; he must, therefore, have been fully aware that they did something more than put Joseph in the pit at his suggestion.

As to the second point. Ishmaelites in the strict and proper sense were a distinct tribe from Midianites, and were of different though related origin. It is, however, a familiar fact, which we have had occasion to observe before, that tribal names are not always used with definite exactness, VI., p. 208. And there is explicit evidence that Ishmaelites was used in a wide sense to include Midianites, *Judg.* 8:24, cf. 7:1sq; 8:1sq. Dillmann's objection that this belonged to a later period comes with a bad grace from one who places the earliest Pentateuchal documents centuries after Gideon. The absence of the article before Midian-



ites, v. 28, does not imply that they were distinct from the Ishmaelites before perceived, vs. 25, 27. They were recognized in the distance as an Ishmaelite caravan, but it was not till they actually came up to them that the Ishmaelites were discovered to be specifically Midianites.

As to the third point. If the first half of v. 28 were severed from its connection the words might mean that Midianites drew Joseph out of the pit. But in the connection in which it stands, such a sense is simply impossible. And the suggestion that R had two statements before him; one, that Midianites drew Joseph out of the pit without his brothers' knowledge and carried him off to Egypt; the other, that the brothers drew him from the pit and sold him to the Ishmaelites; is to charge him with inconceivable stupidity or reckless falsification. There can be no manner of doubt how the author of the book in its present form understood the transaction. There is no possible suggestion of more than one meaning in the words before us. The invention of another sense may illustrate the critic's wit, but it has no more merit than any other perversion of an author's obvious meaning. And it derives no warrant from 40:15; Joseph was "stolen away" even though his captors bought him from those who had no right to dispose of him.

The fourth point can be best considered when we come to ch. 39.

## 2. Chapter 38.

Because the narrative of Joseph is interrupted by ch. 38, De Wette\* inferred "that we have here a compilation, not a continuous history by one narrator." The charge of displacement has been regularly repeated ever since,† though obviously unfounded. Chapter 38 is entirely germane to the subject treated, and it belongs precisely where it is in the author's plan. He is professedly giving an account of "the generations of Jacob," §7:2, not the life of Joseph simply, but the history of Jacob's family. Joseph is necessarily thrown into prominence since the events which brought about the removal of the chosen race to Egypt were so largely connected with him. But the incidents of this chapter have their importance in the constitution of Jacob's family at the time of the migration to Egypt, 46:12, and in the permanent tribal arrangements of Israel, Num. 26:19sq. The writer conducts Joseph to Egypt, where he is sold as a slave. There he leaves him for a while until these facts in Judah's family are related, when he resumes the thread of Joseph's narrative precisely where he left off and proceeds as before. It is just the method that the best writers pursue in similar circumstances. So far from suggesting confusion or disarrangement, it argues an orderly well-considered plan.

\* *Bettrüge*, II., p. 146.

† Page 2, note †; p. 3, note \*; p. 4, note ‡; p. 6, § 1).

The chronological objection is equally futile. If Judah's marriage occurred shortly after Joseph was sold, as is expressly stated, there is no reason why all that is recorded in this chapter may not have taken place within the twenty-two years which preceded the migration to Egypt. It implies early marriages on the part of his sons but not incredibly early.

A further objection is thus stated, p. 6: "It is not to be overlooked that according to this chapter, the custom of the Levirate is very old, antedating by centuries the law recorded in Deuteronomy; P would not have been guilty of such an anachronism." Where, it may be asked, is the proof that there is an anachronism? Genesis shows that in several respects the laws of Moses embodied or were based upon patriarchal usages; while, nevertheless, the modifications show that there has been no transference to a primitive period of the customs of a later time. The penalty which Tamar was threatened, was not that of the Mosaic law, in which Dillmann admits a reminiscence of antelegal times. The critics claim that the Deuteronomic law belongs to the reign of Josiah, yet the Levirate was an established institution in the days of the judges, Ruth, 4:10. How much the argument from silence, of which critics make so frequent use, amounts to in this case, may be inferred from the fact that such marriages, though their existence is trebly vouched for, are nowhere alluded to in the other Pentateuchal codes nor in the later history until the times of the New Testament, Matt. 22:14. It is gratifying to note the admission that P would not commit an anachronism. He is not mistaken then, in speaking of circumcision in the family of Abraham as opposed to any critical inferences, V., p. 250, "that its existence as a custom would seem to date from Moses' days," nor in assigning the Levitical law to the wanderings in the wilderness, nor in his detailed description of the sacred tabernacle which cannot be the reflection from the temple of Solomon thrown back upon the Mosaic age.

The suggestion, p. 3, note, that the "general purpose of this chapter is to indicate the origin of the house of David" assumes that the writer adopted a very unusual method of flattering the pride of a royal house. How displeasing it was to national vanity appears from the fact that the Targum converts Judah's wife from the daughter of a Canaanite to that of a merchant and later legends make Tamar a daughter of Melchizedek.

### 3. Chapter 39.

The critical partition is here rested partly on the ground of alleged discrepancies, partly on that of diction. It is said that there are varying representations of the purchaser of Joseph. Was he, 37:36, Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, captain of the guard, or was he simply an Egyptian, whose name and official position, if he had any, are unknown? He is nowhere called Potiphar in this chapter except in v. 1, but only Joseph's master, v. 3, his Egyptian master, v. 2,

or the Egyptian, v. 5. And nothing is said, outside of v. 1, of his standing in any special relation to Pharaoh or holding any office under the king; but mention is made of "all that he had in the house and in the field," implying that he was the owner of a landed estate. It is hence inferred that the words "Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, captain of the guard," do not properly belong to v. 1, but were inserted by R to make it correspond with 37:36; and that originally it simply read "an Egyptian," words which would be superfluous, if his name and title had previously been given. But neither does "Potiphar" occur in ch. 40, where the critics admit that he is intended by Joseph's master, v. 7, see also vs. 3, 4. Royal body guards are not always composed of native troops, so that it may not have been a matter of course that their captain was an Egyptian. Knobel thinks that the statement is made in contrast with the Hyksos origin of the monarch. Or it may emphasize the fact that Joseph was not only a slave but a slave of a foreigner; the Hebrew servant, vs. 14, 17, had an Egyptian master. But no special reason is needed to justify the expression. Goliath "from Gath from the ranks of the Philistines" is further called "the Philistine," 1 Sam. 17:23, and throughout the chapter is always denominated "the Philistine," without repeating his name. That Potiphar was married creates no real difficulty. It is a disputed point whether פְּרִיָּם is invariably to be taken in the strict sense of eunuch or may sometimes have the general meaning of officer. However this may be, Winer\* refers to Chardin, Niebuhr and Burckhardt in proof of the statement that "even in the modern orient eunuchs have sometimes kept a harem of their own." There is positively no ground, therefore, for assuming an interpolation in v. 1. And the explicit statement of that verse annuls the critical allegation of variant stories respecting the person of Joseph's master.

It is further said that Joseph's master is in 39:20, 21 distinguished from the keeper of the prison into which Joseph was put; whereas in 40:3, 4, 7 they are identical. But the confusion here charged upon the text lies solely in the mind of the interpreters. The narrative is perfectly clear and consistent. The prison was in the house of Joseph's master, 40:7, the captain of the guard, v. 3, who had supreme control over it, v. 4; and this corresponds exactly with the representation, 39:20. Under him there was a subordinate keeper charged with its immediate oversight, 39:21, who was so favorably disposed towards Joseph that he committed all the prisoners into his hands and let him manage everything in the prison. This is neither identical with nor contradictory to the statement, 40:4, that the captain of the guard appointed Joseph to attend upon two prisoners of rank from the royal household. It has been said that he waited upon them simply as Potiphar's servant, and that ch. 40, E, knows nothing of Joseph's imprisonment related by J, ch. 39, and moreover uses the term מִשְׁמָר *ward*, 40:3, 4,

\* *Bäblesches Realwörterbuch*, Art. *Verschnittene*.



J, so 41:10 instead of **בית הסהר** *prison*, 39:20-23. But this result is only reached by expunging from the text without the slightest warrant every clause which directly declares the opposite, 40:3b, 5b, 15b; 41:14; cf. 39:20.

Wellhausen parcels the chapter between J and E, giving vs. 1-5, 20-23 to the former on account of the repeated occurrence of **יְהוָה**, and vs. 6-19 to the latter because of **אלהים**, v. 9, (though this is the ordinary usage when Gentiles speak or are spoken to), and certain other expressions alleged to be characteristic of E. The result is that Joseph is in E falsely accused of a gross crime, but there is no intimation how the matter issues; and in J his master, who had the greatest confidence in him and was richly blessed for his sake, puts him in prison for no cause whatever. Wellhausen, moreover, finds traces of E in the J sections and of J in the E section. Dillmann admits the indivisible character of the chapter and refers the whole of it to J, but as the two following chapters are given to E, the consequence is that according to J, Joseph is put in prison and no information given how or why he was subsequently released; the next that we hear of him he is made viceroy of Egypt with no explanation of how it came to pass, see p. 10 (8) "How J brings Joseph before Pharaoh is not clear." The expressions commonly attributed to E, which are found in this chapter, are accounted for by Dillmann as insertions by R. This repeated occurrence of traces of one document in the limits of the other, and the allegation that the documents have been in various particulars modified by R, are simply confessions that the text is not what by the critics' hypothesis it ought to be. Words and phrases held to be characteristic of J or E in one place are perversely found in the wrong document in another place. So without revising and correcting their own previous conclusions and adjusting their hypothesis to the phenomena as they find them, the critics insist that the document itself is wrong, and who can there be to blame for it but R?

The following expressions regarded as characteristic of E, nevertheless occur in the J text of this chapter:

Verse 4, **וַיִּשְׁרֹת אֵלָיו** as 40:4; Ex. 24:13; 33:11, repeatedly also in P; v. 6, **וַיִּפְהַת מֵרָאָה** as 29:17; v. 7, **וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה** as 15:1; 22:1; 40:1; 48:1; v. 21, **וַיִּתֵּן חֲנוּ כַּעֲנִי** as Ex. 3:21; 11:3. Varying constructions as **הַפֶּקֶד**

in vs. 4, 5, and of **מִצְלִיחַ** trans. v. 2, but intrans. vs. 3, 23 would be held to indicate different writers if they occurred in distinct sections. The diffuseness in v. 1, vs. 2-6, vs. 21-23 is such as is elsewhere claimed to be a mark of P.

#### 4. Chapter 40.

This chapter and the two that follow are by the critics referred to E. Dillmann gives the following reasons in the case of ch. 40: "the dreams," but it is arbitrarily assumed that all dreams must belong to E, see VI., p. 171; "vs. 3a, 4 presuppose Joseph not in prison as ch. 39, but the slave of the captain of the guard as 37:36; 41:12." Nothing is said or implied at variance with his imprisonment, which is explicitly affirmed, vs. 3b, 15b. "I was stolen away," v. 15,

is not inconsistent with his being sold by his brothers; "the connection of ch. 41 with 40," is readily conceded, but involves no discrepancy with or separation from ch. 39. He offers no argument from language but "the avoidance of the verbal suffix, which distinguishes E from J," quietly ignoring the fact that he refused to admit this criterion in ch. 37. **אלהים** v. 8, is spoken to Gentiles; "and it came to pass after these things" cannot be claimed for E, 40:1, after having been given to J, 39:7. That vs. 1,5 have "the butler and the baker of the king of Egypt," while the rest of the chapter has "chief butler," "chief baker" and "Pharaoh," is no good reason for affirming that the former are insertions by R, when v. 1 is indispensable as supplying the reason for v. 2, and the office of the chief butler is simply called "butlership" **משקה**, v. 21. It can scarcely be thought that such arguments are of any weight in favor of critical division.

Nor is there an anachronism in the phrase "land of the Hebrews," v. 15. "Abram the Hebrew," was the head of a powerful clan, 14:13,14, recognized as such by native tribes of Canaan, 23:6, and his friendship sought by the king of the Philistines, 21:22sq. Isaac's greatness is similarly described, 26:13sq., 28sq. The prince and the people of Shechem were willing to submit to circumcision for the sake of friendly intercourse and trade with Jacob, and Jacob's sons avenged the wrong done their sister by the destruction of the city, ch. 34. The Hebrews had been in Canaan for two centuries and their presence was influential and widely known. There is nothing strange, therefore, in the fact that Potiphar's wife calls Joseph a Hebrew, 39:14,17, or that he could speak of the country whence he came as the land of the Hebrews.

#### 5. Chapter 41.

The reasons alleged by Dillmann for assigning this chapter to E are the significant dreams which are of no more weight than those in ch. 40. Joseph is called "servant to the captain of the guard," v. 12, but he was also a prisoner, v. 14, which is evaded after the usual critical fashion, by erasing from the text the words "and they brought him hastily out of the dungeon" as an insertion from a hypothetical parallel of J; but even then his shaving himself and changing his raiment are an allusion to his prison attire, or why are not the same things mentioned when others are presented before the king? The references to ch. 40 (41:10-13, cf. 40:1sq.; 41:16, cf. 40:8), and unusual words common to both chapters (**פתרון**, **פתרון**, **בן**, **station**, **קֶצֶף**) point to the same author, but in no way imply that he was not the author of ch. 39 and 43 as well; **אלהים** in vs. 16,25,32,38,39 is in language addressed to Pharaoh or used by him; vs. 51,52 are the only instances in which **יהוה** could with any propriety be substituted for it, and even there **אלהים** is equally appropriate, for the reference is to God's providential blessings, such as men in general may share rather than to specific favor granted to one of the chosen race; **בלערי**, vs. 16,44, but once beside in Genesis.

14:24, referred by Dillmann to E, but by the majority of critics to an independent source, and twice more in the Hex., Num. 5:20; Josh. 22:19, P. The arguments for considering this chapter a part of the document E are accordingly lame and impotent enough.

We are further informed that this chapter is not a unit as it stands. It is essential for the critics to establish, if possible, the existence of a parallel narrative by J, which may have filled the gap in that document between Joseph's imprisonment and his elevation. Accordingly stress is laid upon some slight verbal changes in repeating Pharaoh's dreams, especially the words added to the description of the lean kine, v. 19, "such as I never saw in all the land of Egypt for badness," and v. 21, "when they had eaten up the fat kine, it could not be known that they had eaten them; but they were still illflavored as at the beginning." And a vigorous search is made for so-called doublets. Wherever the writer does not content himself with a bald and meagre statement of what he is recording, but feels impelled to enlarge and dwell upon it in order to give his thought more adequate expression, the amplifications or repetitions which he employs are seized upon as though they were extraneous additions imported into E's original narrative by R from an imaginary parallel account by J, just as a like fulness of expression in other passages is at the pleasure of the critics declared to be indicative of the verbose and repetitious style of P.

The dreams vs. 2-7 are repeated, vs. 18-24 in almost identical terms, only in a very few instances equivalent expressions are employed, viz.: פֶּאֶר v. 18sq. for כֶּרְאָה v. 23q. (but see 29:17 E, 39:6 J); רָק v. 19 for דָּק v. 3; מֶלֶא v. 22 for כֶּרְאָה v. 5 (but see v. 7). The alleged doublets are, v. 31, parallel to v. 30b; v. 34 יַעֲקֹב to יִשְׂרָאֵל; 35b to 35a; vs. 41, 43b, 44 to v. 40 (Joseph's rule is stated four times, so that repetition cannot be escaped by parcelling it between E and J); v. 49 to v. 48; vs. 55, 56a to 54b (the universality of the famine repeated three times including 57b). While it is claimed

that these indicate two narrators, Dillmann admits that there are no criteria by which to distinguish which is E and which J. The further occurrence of words in this chapter which according to critical rules should belong to P, e. g., חֲרָטָם vs. 8, 24 in the Pentateuch besides only Ex. 7:11, 22; 8:3, 14, 15; 9:11, all P; פָּקָדוֹן in O. T. besides only Lev. 5:21, 23, P; קָחָן v. 47 in O. T. besides only Lev. 2:2; 5:12; 6:8, and the corresponding verb only Lev. 2:2; 5:12; Num. 5:28, all P, leads one to doubt the value of criteria in other cases which the critics can thus disregard at pleasure.

On the whole, then, the critical partition of chs. 37-41 rests upon alleged inconsistencies in the narrative which plainly do not exist as the text now stands, but which the critics themselves create by arbitrary erasures and forced interpretations. The literary proof offered of the existence of different documents is of the scantiest kind. There are no indications of varying diction of any account. And the attempt to bridge the chasms in the documents by means of a supposed parallel narrative, from which snatches have been preserved by R, attributes an unaccountable procedure to him, and falls to pieces at once upon examination.

There are three staple arguments, by which the critics attempt to show that there was in the sources, from which R is conjectured to have drawn, a second

narrative parallel to that in the existing text. Each of them is built upon a state of facts antagonistic to the hypothesis, which they ingeniously seek to wrest in its favor by assuming the truth of the very thing to be proved.

1. Facts, which are essential to the narrative, could not, it is said, have failed to appear in either document; it must be presumed, therefore, that each narrator recorded them.

But the perpetual recurrence of such serious gaps in the so-called documents, which the critics are by every device laboring to construct, tends rather to show that no such documents ever really had any separate existence. That these gaps are due to omissions by R is pure assumption with no foundation but the unproved hypothesis which it is adduced to support; an assumption, moreover, at variance with the conduct repeatedly attributed to R in other places, where to relieve other complications of the hypothesis he is supposed to have scrupulously preserved unimportant details from one of his sources, even though they were superfluous repetitions of what had already been extracted from another.

2. When words and phrases, which the critics regard as characteristic of one document, are found, as they frequently are, in sections which they assign to the other, it is claimed that R has mixed the texts of the different documents.

But the obvious and natural conclusion from the fact referred to is, that what are affirmed to be characteristic words of different documents, are freely used by the same writer. The allegation that R had anything to do with the matter, is an assumption which has no other basis than the hypothesis which it is brought to support. It is plain that any conceit whatever could be carried through successfully, if every deviation from its requirements was sufficiently explained by referring it to R.

3. Whenever a thought is repeated or dwelt upon for the sake of giving it more emphatic expression, the critics scent a doublet, affirming that R has appended to the statement in one document the corresponding statement contained in the other.

But here again the agency of R is pure assumption based on the hypothesis in whose interest it is alleged. That a writer should use more amplitude and fullness in describing matters of special moment is quite intelligible. But why a compiler like R should encumber the narrative by reduplicating what he has already drawn from one source by the equivalent language of another, or why, if this is his method in the instances adduced, he does not consistently pursue it in others, it does not appear.

What are so confidently paraded as traces or indications of some missing portion of a critical document are accordingly rather to be esteemed indications that the documents of the critics are a chimera.

## 1. LANGUAGE OF P.\*

## OLD WORDS.

(1) אלה תלדות see V., p. 152.

The following words not in the list VI., p. 2, might with propriety have been urged as belonging to P by critical rules.

רָבָה, 37:2, only besides in Hex., Num. 13:32; 14:36, 37 P.

רָבַר, with acc. pers., 37:4, only besides Num. 26:3 P.

שָׁעִיר עִזִּים, 37:31, only besides in Hex. in the ritual law, where it occurs repeatedly, Lev. 4:23; 9:3; 16:5; 23:9; Num. chs. 7, 15, 28, 29; nowhere else in O. T., except Ezek. 43:23; 45:23, where it is borrowed from the Penta-teuch.

41:50 has the same fulness of expression which in 16:15; 21:3 is said to be a mark of P.

## 2. LANGUAGE OF J.\*

## OLD WORDS.

(1) נָשָׂא עֵינָיו וְנָי explained above under Section 5, Language of J. (2) כִּשְׁר (=relative) Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (3) וְתוֹרָה V., p. 155, (36). (4) כִּיף Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (5) רַע בְּעֵינָי Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (6) לְבַלְתִּי V., p. 155. (7) חֲכָה Sect. 4, Lang. of J. (8) נָא Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (9) יָחֹוה see Preliminary Remarks, No. 3. (10) גָּדִי Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (11) צִעִיף Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (12) אִיהָ V., p. 155. (13) כִּי-עַל-כֵּן always referred to J. (14) פֶּן V., p. 155. (15) אֲנֹכִי repeatedly in both J and E and once in P, V., p. 174, 6:17. (16) פָּרִץ Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (17) מַצְלִיחַ Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (18) מַצָּא V., p. 175, 6:5-8. (19) בִּגְדֵיךָ Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (20) חֲרָה Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (21) חֲשַׁב 15:6; 38:15 J; 31:15; 50:20; Num. 23:9 E; Lev. 7:18; 17:4; 25:27, 31, 50, 52; 27:18, 23; Num. 18:27, 30 P, besides occurring frequently in P in a derived sense. (22) חָשַׁךְ 39:9 J; 20:6; 22:12 E; 22:10 R; all in Hex. (23) יָפֹה-סְרָאָה 12:11; 39:6 J; 29:17; 41:24 E; all in Hex. (24) חָפֵשׁ 4:21 J; 39:12; Josh. 8:3, 23 J; Num. 5:13; 31:27 P; all in Hex. except Deuteronomy.

## NEW WORDS.

(1) טָרַף 37:33b; 44:28b; 49:27 J; Ex. 22:12 E. Derivatives טָרַף adj., Gen. 8:11 J; טָרַף (poetic) Gen. 49:9 J; Num. 23:24 E; טָרַפָּה

Gen. 31:39; Ex. 22:12, 30 E; Lev. 7:24; 17:15; 22:3 P.

(2) כָּרָה HI. recognize, 37:32, 33; 38:25, 26 J; 27:23; 31:32; Deut. 33:9 E; 42:7, 8b, the critics give v. 7 to J, v. 8 to E.

## RARE AND POETIC WORDS.

Words that a writer scarcely ever uses afford of course no indication of his ordinary style.

(1) נִטָּה עַד 38:1 this construction does not occur again in O. T.

(2) פֶּתַח עֵינָיו 38:14; the "entrance to Enaim" does not chance to be spoken of elsewhere, but פֶּתַח is of repeated occurrences in J, E and P; it is used precisely as here, Josh. 20:4 P.

(3) הִתְעַלֶּף 38:14; nowhere else in O. T. in this sense.

(4) עִרְבוֹן 38:17, 18, 20; nowhere else in O. T.

(5) בֵּית הַסֵּהר 39:20, 21, 22, 23 J; 40:3, 5 claimed to be insertions from J in an E context; nowhere else in O. T.

(6) הַתְּנֹבֵל 37:18; nowhere else in Hex.; the P<sup>rel</sup> occurs Num. 25:18 P.

(7) אֶרְחָה 37:25; nowhere else in Hex.

(8) וְנָוִים 38:24; nowhere else in Hex.

(9) בָּצַע 37:28 J; Ex. 18:21 E; all in Hex.

(10) קִרְשָׁה 38:21b, 22; all in Hex. except Deut. 23:15.

## 3. LANGUAGE OF E.\*

## OLD WORDS.

How utterly the critics have failed to make out a separate diction for E appears from the fact that every one of these words with a solitary exception occurs likewise in J or P; and

the great majority of them have been previously adduced as characteristic of J.

(1) חָלוּס is by rule referred to E, yet it occurs Num. 12:8 J (according to Dillmann) Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (2) נָא see Lang. of J (immedi-

\* The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, Vol. VI., No. 1, and the following references are to explanations already made.



ately preceding) No. 8. (3) מִנְחָה Lang. of J, No. 15. (4) טָרֵם V., p. 155, Lang. of J. (5) הָלוּהוּ 37:19 E; 24:35 J; all in O. T. (6) שָׁלוּךְ יֵר Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (7) מִלְחָמָה see Preliminary Remarks, No. 3. (8) כְּרוֹץ Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (9) שָׁם V., p. 154, Lang. of J; שִׁית 41:33; 46:4 E; 8:15; 4:25; 30:40; 48:14,17, J, all in Genesis; besides other passages it is found in Ex. 7:23, which Dillmann refers to E, Jülicher to J, and Wellhausen to P. (10) כְּלֵעִי 41:16, 44 E; 14:24 E (Dillmann), but other critics an independent source; Num. 5:20; Josh. 22:19 P. (11) בְּחִלָּה Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (12) רָק Sect. 3, Lang. of J, 6:5-8. (13) כֹּחֹל הַיָּם 41:49 E section, though Kautzsch and others cut out this clause and give it to J; 22:17 R or J; 32:13 J; Josh. 11:4 D; all in Hex. (14) חֶרֶל 23:5; 41:49 E; 11:8; 18:11; Ex. 9:29,33,34; 14:12 J; Num. 9:13 P. (15) תַּעֲהָ 20:13; 21:14; 37:15; Ex. 23:4, Sect. 6, Lang. of E. Absolutely the only one in this entire number, which happens not to be found in any but an E section. (16) אִפְרָה 37:16 E, nowhere else so spelled in Hex., as אֶפְרַיִם see Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (17) יַפֶּת מְרֵאָה 29:17; 41:2,4 E; 12:11; 39:16 J. (18) פָּעַם V., p. 155, Lang. of J; פָּעַמִּים in Hex. only 27:36; 48:10 J; Num. 20:11 E, where Dillmann suspects that it was inserted by R.

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) בָּקֶשׁ 31:39; 37:15,16; Ex. 10:11; 33:7 E; 43:9,30; Ex. 2:15; 4:24 J; Ex. 4:19 J (Dillmann), E (Wellhausen); Josh. 2:22 JE; Josh. 22:23 R; Lev. 19:31; Num. 16:10; 35:23 P.
- (2) מְרוּחֹק 22:4; 37:18; Ex. 2:4; 20:21; 24:1 E; Ex. 20:18 J (Dillmann).
- (3) הֶצִיל 31:9,16; 37:22; Ex. 3:8; 5:23; 16:4,8, 9,10b; Josh. 9:26; 24:10 E; 32:12; 37:21; Ex. 2:19; 12:27 J; Josh. 2:13 JE; Ex. 6:6; Num. 35:25; Josh. 22:31 P.

- (4) מָאֵן Ex. 22:16b; Num. 20:21; 22:13,14 E; Gen. 37:35; 39:8; 46:19; Ex. 4:23; 7:14; 10:2; 16:28 J; adjective, Ex. 7:27; 9:2; 10:4 J.
- (5) שָׁאֵל 37:35; 42:33; 44:20,31; Num. 16:30, 33 J.
- (6) קָרִים 41:6,23,27 E; Ex. 10:13b; 14:21 J.
- (7) עֵמֶל 41:51 E; Num. 23:21 E (Dillmann), J (Wellhausen).
- (8) שֹׁכֵר trade in grain, 41:56,57; 43:2,3,5,10 E; 42:6,7; 43:2,4,20,22; 44:25; 47:14 J.
- (9) נִכּוֹן 41:33; Ex. 8:22; 19:11,15 E; Ex. 34:2; Josh. 8:4 J.
- (10) אֲשַׁכֵּל 40:10; Num. 13:23,24 E; Deut. 32:32 J.

## RARE AND POETIC WORDS.

- (1) פִּתְרוֹן 40:5,8,12,18; 41:11 E; all in O. T.
- (2) שָׁחַט 40:11 E; all in O. T.
- (3) צִנּוּמוֹת 41:23 E; all in O. T.
- (4) חֲמִשָּׁה 41:34 E; all in O. T.
- (5) אֲבָרָךְ 41:43 E; all in O. T.
- (6) קָמֵץ 41:47 E; so Fuerst, but according to Gesen. קָמֵץ, Lev. 2:2; 5:12; 6:8 P, from קָמַץ, Lev. 2:2; 5:12; Num. 5:26 P.
- (7) אֵלֶם 37:7 E; אֶלְמָה 37:7 (four times) all in Hex.
- (8) אַחוֹ 41:2,18 E; all in Hex.
- (9) לָעָה 40:6 E; all in Hex.
- (10) שָׂרִיף 40:10,12; all in Hex.
- (11) בֵּן post 40:13; 41:13 E; with slightly modified sense applied to the base or support of the laver, Ex. 30:18 and repeatedly in P.
- (12) בְּרִיא 41:2,4,5,7,18,30 E; all in Hex.
- (13) שָׂרֵף 41:6,23,27 E; all in Hex.
- (14) פָּנִים (with רִיחַ) 41:8 E; all in Hex.
- (15) רוּץ Hf. 41:14 E; all in Hex.
- (16) שָׁנָה (as verb) 41:32 E; all in Hex.
- (17) נִשָּׂה 41:51 E; all in Hex.
- (18) רָבֵר 41:42 E; all in Hex.

## SECTION XI. GENESIS 42:1-46:34.

## 1. Chapter 42-44.

The critics tell us that ch. 42, which records the first journey of Jacob's sons to Egypt is by E, and chs. 43, 44, their second journey is by J. Yet the second journey implies the first and is filled throughout with numerous and explicit allusions to it. It was, 43:2, after they had eaten up the corn already brought

that their father urged them to go again. All then, turns upon Joseph's having required them to bring Benjamin, vs. 3-11. Repeated reference is made to the money returned in their sacks, vs. 12,15,18-23; 44:8, and to Simeon's detention, vs. 14,23. Jacob's sense of bereavement, v. 14, corresponds with previous statements, 42:36; 37:34,35. Joseph speaks of their father and youngest brother, of whom they had previously told him, vs. 27-29. They bow before him in fulfilment of his dreams, vs. 26,28. Joseph orders their money to be replaced in their sacks, 44:1, as before. And Judah's touching address to Joseph, 44:18-34, recites anew the circumstances of their former visit together with their father's grief at the loss of Joseph. It is difficult to see how two parts of the same narrative could be more closely bound together.

Nevertheless it is maintained that all these allusions to what took place in the former journey are not to the record given of it in ch. 42, but to a quite different narrative; that a careful consideration of chs. 43, 44 will show that they are not the sequel of ch. 42, but of a parallel account by J, which no longer exists indeed, inasmuch as R did not think fit to preserve it, but which can be substantially reconstructed from the hints and intimations in these chapters themselves, and must have varied from that of E in several particulars. R is here as always the scape goat on whose head these incongruities are laid, though no very intelligible reason can be given why he should have constructed this inimitable history in such a disjointed manner. And it is likewise strange that the discrepancies between the two narratives so strenuously urged by Wellhausen and Dillmann seem to have escaped the usually observant eye of Hupfeld, who makes no mention of them. As Ilgen, De Wette and Gramberg had raised the same difficulties before, Hupfeld's silence can only mean that he did not deem them worth repeating. Knobel, though ready enough to undertake a critical division elsewhere, insists upon the unity of chs. 42-45, and maintains that the charge of inconsistencies is unfounded. The same judgment, one would think, must be formed by any candid person. The alleged discrepancies are the following:

1. In J, 43:3, it is Judah, whereas in E, 42:37, it is Reuben, who becomes surety for Benjamin's safe return.

But these do not exclude each other. Why should not more than one of Jacob's sons have sought to influence him in a case of such extreme importance to them all? If Reuben had pleaded without effect, why should not Judah renew the importunity, as the necessity became more urgent? It is here precisely as with the separate proposals of Reuben and Judah, 37:21,26, which, as we have seen, the critics likewise seek, without reason, to array against each other. Reuben's allusion, 42:23, to his interference in that instance implies that his remonstrance was not heeded, and that his brothers were responsible for Joseph's death, which he sought to prevent. As the critics represent the matter this was not the case. At Reuben's instance they put Joseph in a pit instead of shedding his

blood. Now if, as the critics will have it, Midianite merchants found him there and carried him off in the absence of the brothers, the latter had no more to do with his disappearance than Reuben had. Reuben's unresisted charge that the rest were guilty of Joseph's death, in which he was not himself implicated, finds no explanation upon the critics' version of the story. It is only when the sundered parts of the narrative are brought together, and it is allowed to stand in its complete and proper form, that Joseph was sold to the Ishmaelites at the suggestion of Judah, while Reuben supposed him to be still in the pit, that his words have any meaning. No difficulty is created by Reuben's speaking of his blood as required. The brothers imagined him to be no longer living. Judah, who counselled the sale, speaks of him as dead, 44:20. By selling him into bondage, they had as they thought procured his death.

It is further claimed that

2. J knows nothing of Simeon's detention related by E, 42:19,24. Judah nowhere alluded to it in arguing with his father, 43:3-10, when he might have urged the prospect of releasing Simeon as an additional reason for their speedy return; nor does he refer to it in his address to Joseph, 44:18-34.

But the supreme interest on both these occasions centered about Benjamin. Would his father consent to let him go? Would Joseph allow him to return to his father? These were the questions quite apart from the case of Simeon, so that in dealing with them there was no occasion to allude to him. But Simeon is directly spoken of twice in ch. 43. When Jacob is starting them on their return he prays, v. 14, "God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that he release unto you *your other brother* and Benjamin." And, v. 23, when they reach the house of Joseph, the steward "brought Simeon out unto them." These explicit allusions to Simeon's imprisonment are evaded by declaring them to be interpolations from E. The argument for suppressing them may be fairly stated thus: because Simeon is not referred to where there is no occasion for speaking of him, therefore the mention which is made of him in the proper place cannot be an integral part of the text. In other words, whatever the critics desire to eliminate from a passage, is eliminated without further ceremony by declaring it spurious. If it does not accord with their theory, that is enough; no other proof is necessary.

The further allegation that 42:38 is not the direct reply to v. 37, because Simeon is not spoken of in it, is futile on its face; for as Reuben makes no allusion to him in his proposal, there is no reason why Jacob should do so in his answer. Nevertheless the critics tell us that E's narrative is abruptly broken off at 42:37 and left incomplete. No response is made to Reuben at all; and we have no means of knowing whether Jacob acceded to his request, or on what terms. Instead of this R introduces an irrelevant verse (v. 38) from J, which in its original connection was a reply to something quite distinct from the words by



which it is here preceded. All this confusion (where in reality no confusion exists) is created by the critical necessity of assigning v. 38 to J since the words "if mischief befall him, ye shall bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave" are identical with 44:29,31 and must obviously be from the same writer.

3. "In ch. 42 Joseph will by detaining Simeon, compel the brothers at all events to come back again with or without Benjamin; in ch. 43sq., on the contrary, he forbids them to come back, if Benjamin is not with them. In ch. 42 they are treated as spies, at first they are all put in prison together and then only set free on bail to bring Benjamin, and thus confirm the truth of their declarations; but in ch. 43sq., they do not go back to Egypt from the moral obligation of clearing themselves and releasing Simeon, but wait till the corn is all gone and the famine constrains them. The charge that they were spies was not brought against the brothers at all according to 43:5-7; 44:18sq.; it was not this which induced them, as in ch. 42, to explain to Joseph, who and whence they really were, and thus involuntarily to make mention of Benjamin, but Joseph directly asked them, Is your father yet alive? have ye another brother? and then commanded them not to come into his presence again without him."<sup>\*</sup>

All this is only an attempt to create a conflict where there is none. One part of a transaction is set in opposition to another equally belonging to it. One motive is arrayed against another, as though they were incompatible, when both were alike operative. When Joseph told his brothers that they must verify their words by Benjamin's coming or be considered spies, 42:15,16,20,34, he in effect told them that they should not see his face again unless Benjamin was with them. They delay their return until the corn was all used up, because nothing less than imminent starvation will induce Jacob, who has already lost two sons, to risk the loss of his darling. That Joseph directly interrogated them about their father and brother is not expressly said in ch. 42; but as the entire interview is not narrated, there is nothing to forbid it. The critics do not themselves insist on the absolute conformity of related passages unless they have some end to answer by it. The words of Reuben as reported 42:22 are not identical with those ascribed to him 37:22; and nothing is said in ch. 37 of Joseph's beseeching his brothers in the anguish of his soul, as 42:21. Jacob's sons "in rehearsing their experience to their father. . . omit his first proposition to keep all of them but one and their three days' imprisonment, and add that if they prove true, he would offer them the trade of Egypt."<sup>†</sup> Judah, in relating the words of his father, 44:27-29, does not limit himself to language which, according to 43:2sq., he uttered on the occasion referred to. In these instances the critics find no discrepancies within the limits of the same document but count it sufficient that the general sense is pre-

<sup>\*</sup> Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hexateuchs*, p. 56.

<sup>†</sup> VI., p. 15.

served. If they would but interpret with equal candor elsewhere their imaginary difficulties would all melt away.

4. A discrepancy is alleged regarding the money found in the sacks. According to 43:21 J, the discovery was made at the lodging on their way home, but according to 42:35 E, after their arrival home and in the presence of their father.

It is to be observed, however, that these are not variant statements of the historian. In the former passage he is repeating what the brothers said to Joseph's steward, which makes a material difference. The historian's own account of the matter clears up the difficulty entirely. One of the brothers, on opening his sack at the lodging, 42:27sq., found his money and reported the fact to the rest, whereat they were greatly alarmed. But it was not until they emptied their sacks after reaching home, v. 35, that they and their father ascertained to their alarm and to his that each of them had brought his money back. In making their apology subsequently to Joseph's steward, it was of no consequence for them to relate in detail just when and where these successive discoveries were made. The one important fact was that they all found their money in their sacks, and they link this with the first discovery, which so excited them at the lodging. Their statement, though not minutely accurate, was yet for their purpose substantially true.

The critics, however, refuse to accept this obvious explanation. They claim that 42:27,28 does not belong to E's narrative, but has been inserted by R from an assumed parallel account by J. If these verses are excluded from E's text, he makes no mention of any discovery at the lodging. J alone speaks of money being found there; according to E, they first find their money all together at home. It is further alleged, 42:27,28 has been altered by R. In its original form as a part of J's text, it must have corresponded with 43:21, and have stated that not one of the brothers merely but all of them found their money in their sacks at the lodging. If one opened his sack to give his ass provender, must not the rest have done the same and made the same discovery? and especially as they were so agitated by the fact that one had found his money in his sack, would not the rest have made instant search in theirs? But all this conjectural reasoning does not change the fact. The statement of the history is that one found his money at the lodging and all found theirs when they reached home. Whether both these items belong to the same document or not, there is no conflict between them. And the critics can scarcely be accorded the privilege of changing the text *ad libitum* for the sake of creating a discrepancy where there is none and thus manufacturing an argument for variant narratives and separate documents.

An argument is brought from the language of these verses to confirm these critical assertions; but it is altogether inconclusive.

According to Dillmann דָּחַח 42:27 means *the first* in order, implying that the rest subsequently did the same; it rather denotes *the one* who performed the action referred to, definitely conceived as 2 Kgs. 6:35. It is claimed that the language of these verses is that of J, as shown by מִסְפּוֹא, מִלּוֹן, אִמְתַּחַח. מִסְפּוֹא fodder and מִלּוֹן lodging-place are the proper words to express these ideas and cannot be regarded as characterizing any particular writer. The former is used four times in the Hex., twice in this narrative, 42:27; 43:24, and twice in the story of Abraham's servant, 24:25,32. The latter also occurs twice in this narrative, 42:27; 43:21, and in two passages besides in the Hex., Ex. 4:24; Josh. 4:3,8. More stress is laid on אִמְתַּחַח sack, a word peculiar to this narrative, which is claimed for J, while E's word for the same is שָׂק. The latter properly denotes the coarse material from which sacks and the dress of mourners

were made, and is then applied to anything made of this material. אִמְתַּחַח from מִתַּח to expand is the specific term for a bag or sack. The grain sacks are first mentioned 42:25, where the general term כֵּלִי vessel is used together with שָׂק; then in vs. 27,28 שָׂק together with אִמְתַּחַח; in v. 35 שָׂק alone, and thenceforward אִמְתַּחַח as the proper and specific term is steadfastly adhered to in the rest of the narrative throughout chs. 43 and 44. That this affords no argument for sundering vs. 27,28 from their present connection and assigning them to another writer is obvious, since both שָׂק and אִמְתַּחַח occur there together; moreover אֱלֹהִים in the last clause of v. 28 forbids it being assigned to J. Dillmann evades these difficulties by assuming that these verses have been manipulated by R, who inserted שָׂק and transposed the unwelcome clause from its original position after v. 35. What cannot a critic prove with the help of R?

Further proof that ch. 42 is from E and chs. 43, 44 from J is sought from the language of these chapters, but with no great success.

E calls Benjamin יְלִי 42:22, but J נֶעֱרַי 43:8; 44:22-24. J, however, likewise calls him יְלִי 44:20, and uses the same word repeatedly elsewhere, e.g., 32:23; 33:1-14 (9 times), while E uses נֶעֱרַי with equal frequency, 14:24; 21:12-20 (6 times), ch. 22 (5 times), etc., etc.

E says יַעֲקֹב 42:1,4,22,36, but J יִשְׂרָאֵל 43:8,8, 11. Dillmann undertakes to carry consistently through the rule laid down by Wellhausen,\* but which through the fault of R he admits has not been strictly observed,† viz., that after 35:10 J calls the patriarch Israel, E calls him Jacob, but his sons the sons of Israel, while P continues to speak of Jacob and the sons of Jacob. Whence results this curious circumstance; P 35:10 and E 32:29 (so Dill.) record the change of name to Israel but never use it; J alone makes use of it and he does not record the change at all. There is a singular inconsistency likewise in the conduct of R. P alone mentions the change in the names of Abraham and Sarah, 17:5,15, but R is so concerned to have the documents uniform in this respect

that from this point onward he alters these names in J and E to correspond with P; why does he not here in like manner bring P and E into correspondence with J? And it is only by palpable forcing that Dillmann succeeds in uniformly assigning יִשְׂרָאֵל to J; see e.g. 45:27,28; 46:1,2; 47:27; 48:2,8,11,21. Wellhausen, Kautzsch and other critics abandon the attempt as hopeless. At this period of transition when the family is branching out into the nation these two names seem to be used interchangeably, the distinction lying purely in the writer's point of view. The patriarch is called by his personal name Jacob when he is regarded strictly as an individual; he is called Israel when he is regarded as the head and representative of the chosen race, cf. 46:8.

E says שָׂק, אִמְתַּחַח for sack; explained above.

E says הָאִישׁ אֲדֹנֵי הָאָרֶץ 42:30,33; J simply הָאִישׁ 43:3,5,6,7,13,14; 44:28. The full phrase "the man, the lord of the land" was necessary at first in order to indicate the person in-

\* *Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 59.

† Page 60.

tended: its constant repetition afterwards would be cumbrous. In like manner "the man who was over Joseph's house," 43:16,19 is simply called "the man," v. 17. The plur. const. אֲנִי is used in a singular sense but once besides in the Pent., 39:20, where it is attributed to J.

E has כִּשְׁמֶר 42:17,19 as 40:3,4,7; 41:10, while J has בֵּית הַחֹרֶר 39:20-23; but the latter also occurs in an E context 40:3,5, only the clause containing it is cut out and assigned to J because of this very phrase.

E has the prolonged form of the fem. plur. suf. כִּלְיָה 42:36, as 21:29; 31:6; 41:21; but J has the same יִחְיֶה for יִחְיֶה 30:41.

צָרָה 42:25 E as 45:21; Josh. 9:11; but so J 27:3; Ex. 12:39; all in Hex. except Josh. 1:11 D.

צָרָה 42:21b E; but so J Deut. 31:17,21; all in Hex.

וְכִר 42:9 E as 40:14b,23; 41:9; Ex. 20:8(?), 24; 23:13; but so J Ex. 13:3; 32:13; Lev. 26:42 (three times), 45(?); Num. 11:5; 15:39,40, and P 8:1; 9:15,16; 19:29; 30:22; Ex. 2:24; 6:5; Num. 5:15(?); 10:9(?); all in Pent. except Deut.

אָכַל is claimed for J, 43:2,4,20,22; 44:1,25 in distinction from אָכַל E 41:35,49; 42:3,25; 45:23; but the former occurs in E 41:35b,38,48b,48; 42:7,10; 47:24 unless the clauses containing it are arbitrarily severed from their context.

יָרַד and הוֹרִיד are said to be used by J of going to Egypt 37:25; 39:1; 43:11,15,20,22; 44:21,23,26, but הוֹרִיד by E 37:28; but יָרַד is so used in E 42:2,3 and בָּא in J 42:5; cf. 43:1.

The divine names give no help to the critics in these chapters. אֱלֹהִים occurs once in E 42:18, but three times in J 42:28; 43:29; 44:16 and אֱלֹהֵי once in a J context 43:14, R is in-

voked to relieve the difficulty in 42:28 and 43:14; while in 43:29; 44:16 the critical principle is abandoned, which traces the occurrence of אֱלֹהִים to the particular document in which it is found, and it is confessed that its employment is due to the distinctive usage of the word itself. אֱלֹהִים is used because Joseph is addressed, who is acting the part of an Egyptian governor. This of course accounts equally for 42:18, where Joseph is the speaker. In 42:28 the implied contrast is between divine and human agency, cf. 4:25. In 43:14 the special appeal is to God's omnipotence.

The attempt to establish a parallel narrative to ch. 42 for J and to chs. 43, 44 for E rests on very slender grounds. Snatches of the former are suspected in 42:2a,4b,6,7,10,27sq.,38, and of the latter in 43:14,23b. 42:2a is alleged to be superfluous beside 1a, which it is not; 4b is given to J because of אֶמְנֹן and קָרָא, though these are found as well in E; v. 6 because of שְׁלִיט which occurs nowhere else in the Hex., and notwithstanding the plain allusion to Joseph's dreams in the last clause; "he knew them but made himself strange to them" in v. 7 because of the repetition in v. 8, which, however, is for the sake of adding a contrasted thought, and the removal of this clause leaves the following words, "spake roughly unto them," unexplained, so that Dillmann finds it necessary to transpose them after 2a; v. 10 because of אָכַל, though this is equally found in E; vs. 27sq.,38 for reasons already sufficiently discussed; 43:14,23b are cut out of their connection and given to E, because they flatly contradict the critical allegation that J knows nothing of Simeon's imprisonment and that he never says El Shaddai.

## 2. Chapter 45.

This chapter is mainly assigned to E on the ground of alleged discrepancies with what precedes and follows. How, it is said, could Joseph ask, v. 3, whether his father was yet living after his own previous inquiry, 43:27,28, and Judah's speech, 44:18-34, as reported by J? The suggestion only shows how utterly this cold and captious criticism is out of sympathy with the writer and with the whole situation. Joseph's heart is bursting with long suppressed emotion. He had asked about the old man of whom they spake. He can maintain this distance

and reserve no longer. With the disclosure "I am Joseph," his first utterance follows the bent of his affections, "How is my father?"

Again it is objected that Pharaoh had bidden Joseph bring his father with his household to Egypt, promising him the good of the land, 45:17,18; yet, 47:1, Joseph announces their coming to Pharaoh, as though he had never heard of it before; they petition, v. 4, to be allowed to dwell in Goshen, and Pharaoh grants it, v. 6, without any allusion to his previous invitation and promise.

But there is no implication in this last act that the first had not preceded it. All proceeds quite naturally in the narrative. At the first intimation of the presence of Joseph's brethren Pharaoh asks them to Egypt to share the good of the land, assigning them no residence, and only offering subsistence in this time of scarcity. Upon their actual arrival Joseph notifies Pharaoh of the fact and presents his brethren to him with the request that they may dwell in Goshen as best suited to their occupation. And when this is granted he presents his aged father to the king. All is as consistent and natural as possible.

While the grounds of division are thus flimsy, there are various passages in the chapter which are clearly at variance with the hypothesis of the critics, since what they allege to be criteria of distinct documents whether in language or in the contents of the narrative are here inseparably blended. Their only resource here as elsewhere is to interpret these damaging clauses as insertions by R, which they accordingly cut out of their proper connection and assign to J as though they were scraps taken from a supposed parallel narrative of his.

Verse 1a is given to J because of **הַתֹּאמַר**, only besides in Hex. 43:31 J, but 1b closely connected with it to E because of **הַתְּחִינָה** only besides in O. T. Num. 12:6 E.

Verse 2 is declared superfluous in its connection beside v. 16. But it is not. The action progresses regularly. Joseph's weeping was heard by those outside, v. 2, but the occasion of it became known subsequently, v. 16.

Verse 4b, the sale of Joseph into Egypt is in the wrong document; of course excision is necessary.

Verse 5 is a singular medley; no two successive clauses can be assigned to the same document. The first clause **תַּעֲצְבוּ** J as 6:6; 34:7; the second, **יָחַר בְּעֵינֵיכֶם** only besides in O. T. 31:38 E; the third, sale of Joseph J; the fourth, **אֱלֹהִים** E.

Verse 7a repeats 5b, but **אֱלֹהִים** occurs in both, compelling the critics to give both to E and so confess that repetition is not proof

of a doublet, or else, as Kautzsch proposes, to change one **אֱלֹהִים** to **יְחִוָּה** and throw the blame on R.

Verse 10, Joseph's naming Goshen as their place of abode is implied in 46:28 J, where Jacob goes directly thither. It is hence severed from its connection and given to J in whole or in part, while its minute enumeration of particulars is such as is elsewhere held to characterize P in distinction from both J and E.

Verse 18 is assigned to J because of **הַוִּירָד** as 39:1, and because it repeats v. 9; so v. 14 because of **נָפַל עַל צוּרָאֵי** as 33:4; 46:29, while v. 15, a part of the same scene is given to E. Wellhausen by comparison with 33:4 tries to establish a diversity between J and E in the construction of **נָשָׂא**, a conclusion which Dillmann thinks "weak in its fact."

Verse 28 is the response to v. 27, but one verse has "Jacob" and must be assigned to E, while the other has "Israel" and is given to J.



It is apparent here as in many other cases that the assignment of verses and clauses is simply the enforcement *volens volens* of an arbitrary determination of the critics. No one would dream of sundering these mutually unrelated scraps from the rest of the chapter, with which they are closely connected, but for the application of alleged criteria which the critics have devised in other places in framing their hypothesis. These are carried rigidly through at whatever disturbance of the connection or havoc of the sense, because to abandon them would be to give up the hypothesis. The very least that can be said is that this mincing work, to which the critics find themselves compelled to resort to so great an extent in Genesis and increasingly so in the books that follow, lends no support to the hypothesis, but is simply a dead weight upon it. The hypothesis is plainly not an outgrowth of this and similar chapters, but is obtruded upon them, and the only question is how much lumber of this sort it can carry without signally breaking down.

Elohim occurs four times in this chapter, vs. 5,7,8,9, in the address of Joseph to his brothers. As he is no longer acting the part of an Egyptian, he might have spoken of Yahweh as consulting for the welfare of the chosen race. But Elohim is equally appropriate, since the prominent thought here and throughout the history of Joseph is that it is God not man who guided the course of events, v. 8; 50:20.

### 3. Chapter 46.

Verses 1-5 are assigned to E except 1a which is given to J because of "Israel" and "took his journey" וַיֵּלֶךְ. This affords an opportunity for creating a discrepancy. Jacob starts in E, v. 5, from Beersheba, in J from some other place, presumably Hebron, 37:14, and takes Beersheba on his way. It scarcely need be stated that the discrepancy is purely the result of the critical partition, and has no existence in the text itself. In v. 2 "Elohim" and "visions of the night," E,\* conflict with "Israel" a mark of J. The difficulty is adjusted by erasing the unwelcome name and tracing its insertion to R.

Verses 6,7 are attributed to P for reasons already considered, VI, p. 191. P's last generally acknowledged statement† is, 37:1, that, in contrast to Esau's removal to Mt. Seir, 36:6-8, Jacob dwelt in the land of Canaan. And yet here follows without a word of explanation the removal of Jacob and his family to Egypt; and it comes out in subsequent incidental allusions that Joseph was already settled there and married into a priestly family, 46:20,27, that he was high in favor with Pharaoh, and it was he who gave his father and his brethren a possession in the land of Egypt, 47:7,11. But how all this came about P does not

\* The repetition of the name and the answer וַיֵּלֶךְ as Gen. 22:11; Ex. 3:4 is also claimed for E; but Gen. 22:11 can only be assigned to E by manipulating the text and expunging וַיֵּלֶךְ.

† Two isolated and unexplained statements of Joseph's age, when tending flocks, 37:2, and when standing before Pharaoh, 41:46, are given to P by some critics and denied to him by others.

inform us. The critics are greatly exercised to account for so egregious a gap as this. Kayser suggests that P was theoretical rather than historical; Nöldeke, that R omitted P's account because it was contradictory to E and J; others, because it agreed with theirs. And yet elsewhere R is careful to preserve even the smallest scraps of P, though they are quite superfluous beside the more extended narratives of E or J, e. g., 19:29, and if we may believe the critics he is not deterred by inconsistencies.

The list of Jacob's family, vs. 8-27, is a critical puzzle. It is in the style of other genealogies attributed to P, and has expressions claimed as his, viz., Paddan-aram, v. 15, "souls," vs. 15, 18, 22, 25-27, "came out of his loins," v. 26. And yet it has its doublets in P, Ex. 1:1-5; 6:14-25; Num. 26:5 sqq.; Israel, v. 8, is a mark of J; and, as Kayser affirms, it has too many allusions to J and E to admit of their being explained as interpolations. Thus, v. 12, "Er and Onan, etc.," refers to 38:9 J; v. 18, "Zilpah whom Laban gave to Leah," and v. 25, "Bilhah whom Laban gave unto Rachel" to 29:24, 29\* E; vs. 20, 27, Joseph's marriage and sons to 41:50-52 E.†

But it is alleged, VI, p. 12, that "P's statistics seem inconsistent with the prophetic stories." This is based on the assumption, which even Wellhausen‡ repels, that every individual person named in the list was born before the migration into Egypt. Such an inference might indeed be drawn from 46:8, 26 strictly taken. But to press the letter of such general statements into contradiction with the particulars embraced under them is in violation of the evident meaning of the writer. So 46:15 rigorously interpreted would make Leah to have borne thirty-three children to Jacob in Paddan-aram, one of whom was Jacob himself. Zilpah, v. 18, and Bilhah, v. 25, bare their grandsons as well as their sons. Benjamin is included, 35:24, 26, among Jacob's sons born in Paddan-aram, though his birth near Ephrath is recorded but a few verses before. The numerical correspondences of the table, a total of seventy, the descendants of each maid precisely half those of her mistress (Leah 32, Zilpah 16, Rachel 14, Bilhah 7) suggest design and can scarcely be altogether accidental. And a comparison of Num. 26 leads to the belief that regard was had to the subsequent national organization in constructing this table and that its design was to include those descendants of Jacob from whom permanent families or tribal divisions sprang rather than those who chanced to have been born before the descent into Egypt. It need not surprise us, therefore, if we find a few names of those who were still in the loins of their fathers, Heb. 7:9, 10, at the time of the migration. It is no departure from the

\* It is with the view of quietly evading this difficulty that Wellhausen and Dillmann absurdly sunder these verses from the rest of the chapter and give them to P.

† Also v. 15 Dinah to 30:21, if Kayser and Schrader are correct in referring ch. 34 entire to J.

‡ *Composition d. Hebräer*, p. 51: "This list once and again bursts through the historic bounds of Genesis." Critical consistency requires this admission from those who assign 37:2 and 41:46 to P, VI, p. 1, or this document will be in conflict with itself.

usages of Hebrew thought to conceive of unborn children as included in the persons of their parents, 46:4b.

This view of the design and character of the list relieves it of all difficulty that four sons are ascribed to Reuben v. 9, but only two 42:37; that, v. 12, Hezron and Hamul, grandsons of Judah, are included as substitutes for his two deceased sons; and that, v. 21, ten sons of Benjamin are named, though, 43:8; 44:22, etc., he is called נָעֵר;\* nor does it matter that some of those who are here spoken of as sons of Benjamin were really his grandsons, Num. 26:40; 1 Chron. 8:3,4.

The divine names in this chapter are grouped together in the opening verses, vs. 1-8. "The God of his father Isaac," v. 1, and "the God of thy father," v. 3, together with the worship at Beersheba are in evident allusion to the altar built there by Isaac and the divine manifestation and promise there made, 26:23-25, though it is at variance with critical theories that E should thus refer back to J. Had God revealed himself, v. 3, as "Yahweh, the God of thy father," it would have seemed eminently appropriate. But "the God of Isaac" is a designation equivalent to Yahweh. And there are special reasons for using the term הָאֵל from its association with the name Israel here significantly employed, from its allusion to 35:11, where the promise was given on his return to Canaan, which is now emphatically repeated as he is about to leave it, and from the meaning of הָאֵל the *Mighty One* with its assurance, just then specially needed, of omnipotent protection and blessing, and a like assurance is involved in אֱלֹהִים v. 2, the God of creation and of universal providence.

#### 4. LANGUAGE OF P.†

##### OLD WORDS.

- (1) רָכֹושׁ see VI., p. 117. (2) רָכַשׁ VI., p. 117. (3) וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת Sect. 7, Lang. of P. (5) פָּרָן אָרַם Sect. 7, Lang. of P.

#### 5. LANGUAGE OF J.‡

##### OLD WORDS.

- (1) שָׂכַר trade in grain, Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (2) קָרָא meet, befall, 42:38; 49:1 J; 42:4 (so Dill.); Ex. 1:10; 6:3 E; Lev. 10:19 (later additions to) P. קָרָה Gen. 24:12; 27:20; 44:29; Num. 11:23 J; Gen. 42:29; Ex. 3:18; Num. 23:3 sq., 15 sq. E; Num. 35:11 P. (3) נָכַר Hl. recognize, Sect. 10, Lang. of J. (4) שָׂאוּל Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (5) לִוְיָא Gen. 48:10 J; לִוְיָ Gen. 31:42 E; Deut. 32:27 J, all in Hex. (6) פָּעַם Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (7) מָפֹאָה Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (8) אֵלֶּיךָ VI., p. 117. (9) בְּתַחֲלָה V., p. 151, note. (10) קָדַר Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (11) נִשְׂא עֵינַיִם Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (12) שִׁים V., p. 154. (13) חֲלִילָה Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (14) עָתָה V., p. 155. (15) נָא Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (16) חֲרִיהָ Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (17) עָצַב V., p. 155. (18) מִקְנֶה Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (19) עֲכָרָה Sect. 6, Lang. of J.

##### NEW WORDS.

- (1) אֶסְכֵּן 42:38; 44:29 J; 42:4 (so Dill.); Ex. 21:22,23 E.

\* נָעֵר the youngest, 42:13,15, etc., denotes relative not absolute age, and has no reference to size. Rehoboam is called נָעֵר young, 2 Chron. 13:7, when he was upwards of forty years of age, 12:13. Though Benjamin was tenderly treated as the youngest of the family and Jacob's darling, it must not be inferred that he was still in his boyhood.

† The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 11.

‡ The numbers as VI., p. 14.



- (2) אֶל see above under ch. 42-44.  
 (3) מֶלֶךְ see above under ch. 42-44 (on 42:27,28).  
 (4) טָף 48:8; 47:12,24; 50:8 J; 45:19; 46:5; 50:21; Ex. 10:10,24; 12:37; 32:16,17,24,26 E; Num. 14:3,31; 16:27 JE; Gen. 34:29 R; Num. 31:9,17,18 (later constituents of) P.  
 (5) הַתְּמַחֲמָה 19:16; 43:10; Ex. 12:39 J; all in Hex.  
 (6) זְמֶרֶת 43:11 J; Ex. 15:2 E; all in Hex.  
 (7) בִּי 43:20; 44:18; Ex. 4:10,18; Num. 12:11; Josh. 7:8 J; all in Hex.

## RARE WORDS.

- (1) שְׁלִיט 42:6 J, all in Hex.; "besides only Aram. and in late books, but it may here be a

technical word traditionally preserved, since it agrees remarkably with *Salatis* or *Sutis*, the name of the first ruler of the Hyksos in Egypt," Dillmann.

- (2) קֶשֶׁת 42:7 J; 42:30 E; fem. plur. nowhere else.  
 (3) אִמְתַּחַת see under ch. 42-44 (on 42:27,28).  
 (4) יָגוֹן 42:33; 44:31 J; all in Hex.  
 (5) עָרַב 43:9; 44:32 J; all in Hex.  
 (6) תָּמָה 43:33 J; all in Hex.  
 (7) מִשְׁנָה 43:12 J; all in O. T.  
 (8) מִטְמוֹן 43:23 J; all in Hex.  
 (9) כָּמֹר 46:30 J; all in Hex.  
 (10) הַתְּמַחֵם 43:31; 45:1 J; all in Hex.  
 (11) מִשְׁמַח 43:34 (three times) J; all in Hex.  
 (12) עָקַם 44:13 J; all in Hex.

## 6. LANGUAGE OF E.\*

## OLD WORDS.

- (1) שֹׁבֵר buy grain, Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (2) חֶלֶם referred to E by rule. (3) עַל-כֵּן Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (4) יָלַד V., p. 164, Lang. of J. (5) אֱלֹהִים explained above. (6) שָׁם V., p. 154, Lang. of J. (7) אֲנִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J.

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) מִרְנָל 42:9,11,14,16,30,31,34 E; Josh. 2:1; 6:22,23 JE; verb רִנַּל Josh. 7:12b J.  
 (2) מִשְׁמֵר 40:3,4,7; 41:10; 42:17,19 E; Lev. 24:12; Num. 15:24 P; all in Hex.  
 (3) צָרָה see under ch. 42-44.  
 (4) שָׁכַל 31:32; 42:36; 43:14; Ex. 23:26 E; Gen. 27:45 JE; Lev. 26:22; Deut. 32:23 J; all in Hex.  
 (5) נִבְחַל 45:3; Ex. 15:16 E; all in Hex.  
 (6) כִּלְכַּל 45:11; 47:12; 50:21 E; all in Hex.  
 (7) חֹסֶם 45:20 E; all in Hex. except Deut.

- (8) טֹבַח 45:18,20,23 E; 24:10; Ex. 38:19 J; all in Hex. except Deut.  
 (9) רָגַז 45:24; Ex. 15:14 E; all in Hex. except once in Deut.

## RARE WORDS.

- (1) בָּר 41:35,49; 42:3,25; 45:23 E; all in Hex.  
 (2) בָּנִים 42:11,19,31,33,34 E; all in O. T.  
 (3) כַּחַן 42:15,16 E; all in Hex.  
 (4) חִי (in an oath) 42:15,16 E; all in Hex.  
 (5) רַעֲבוּן 42:19,33 E; all in Hex.  
 (6) אֶבֶר 42:21 E; 17:19 P; all in Hex.  
 (7) צָרָה 35:3; 42:31 E; all in Hex. except Deut.  
 (8) מְלִיץ 42:23 E; all in Hex.  
 (9) צָרוּר 42:35 E; all in Hex.  
 (10) מַחִיָּה 45:5 E; Lev. 13:10,24 P.  
 (11) טָעַן 45:17 E; all in O. T.  
 (12) חֲלָפֹת 45:23 E; all in Hex.  
 (13) פָּוֹז 45:26 E; all in Hex.

## SEC. 12. 47:1-50:26.

## 1. Chapter 47.

The critics here again try to produce two divergent accounts by their usual method of making the part stand for the whole, and arranging successive incidents against each other as though they were variant reports of the same transaction. Joseph first presents five of his brethren to Pharaoh, that they may state their occupation and have an appropriate residence assigned them. He then pre-

\* The numbers as VI., p. 16.

sents his father *causa honoris* for a formal interview.\* This is all natural enough. But the critics will have it that there was but one presentation, viz., of the brothers, vs. 2sq. J, or of the father, vs. 7-11 P. Then the words "as Pharaoh had commanded," v. 11, with their evident allusion to vs. 5, 8, make it necessary to sunder these verses;† vs. 5b, 6a are given to P and vs. 2-5a, 6b retained for J, whereupon it is urged as the result of this dissection that what J calls, v. 6b, "the land of Goshen" P calls, v. 11, the land of Rameses, though this latter expression occurs but once and is an equivalent designation drawn from the chief city of the district.

Moreover v. 12 must be assigned to E as the fulfilment of the promise, 45:11, though E had not recorded the arrival in Egypt. This deprives the contrasted passage, vs. 13-26, of its proper connection and the difficulty is to find out where it belongs. The criteria of J and E are so intermingled in it that Dillmann thinks it necessary to assume that it was written by J on the basis of a previous narrative by E, which may originally have stood immediately after 41:55, and that it has been worked over by R.‡ Wellhausen takes it to be part of a supposed narrative by J parallel to that of E in ch. 41.

Verse 27b must be assigned to P as it has his characteristic expressions, notwithstanding the fact that it is duplicated by Ex. 1:7 P in violation of the critical rule so urgently enforced elsewhere, and notwithstanding the fact that it must then be severed from 27a, with which it is closely connected, (since "Israel" and "land of Goshen" are marks of J), and attached to v. 11.

The mention of Jacob's age§ and the term of his residence in Egypt, v. 28, is plainly preparatory to vs. 29-31, his charge to Joseph respecting his burial; but as he subsequently gives a like charge to all his sons, 49:29-33, a doublet is once more assumed, and the former given to J, and the latter to P.

Thus a well arranged, well connected narrative is torn to shreds, set at variance with itself, and thrown into confusion for the most trivial and inconclusive reasons.

\* The critics say, VI., p. 20, that Jacob as the head of the clan ought to have been presented first. They may settle that matter with the historian, or if they please with R. The sons were the active members of the family, and the reason given in the narrative itself for the order of procedure is sufficient, cf. 34:5, 11, 13.

† The proposal to substitute the LXX. for the Masoretic text of 47:5, 6, VI., p. 12, would certainly not be made by an unbiased critic. Dillmann's motive in it is obvious enough. The LXX. have here, as so frequently elsewhere, rearranged the text for reasons of their own, which in this instance are quite apparent. In order to bring Pharaoh's answer into more exact correspondence with the request of Joseph's brothers, 6b is made to follow immediately after v. 4, and then a clause is inserted to prepare the way for v. 5.

‡ 47:28 J manifestly alludes to E 41:34. This and many similar facts, e. g., 46:28 J linked to 46:5 E, are consistent with Dillmann's view that J was acquainted with E, but not with that of Wellhausen that they were entirely independent.

§ The inconsistencies charged, VI., p. 20, have already been answered, VI., p. 206.

## 2. Chapter 48.

This chapter fares no better. The continuous narrative of Jacob's blessing the sons of Joseph is parcelled into fragments. "After these things," v. 1, is a mark of E, but as the preceding record is not from E, it is hard to tell what is referred to. "Israel" is a sign of J; 2b must accordingly be cut out from the connection to which it belongs, and be tacked on to the previous chapter. El Shaddai and other critical marks require that vs. 3-7 should be given to P; it thus becomes a disconnected fragment severed from its appropriate introduction and from the rest of the scene, in which it has its proper place. The remainder of the chapter is sadly split up by the alternate recurrence of "Israel," a mark of J, and "Elohim," a mark of E;\* and after all the aid of R has to be invoked to account for Israel in vs. 8, 11, 21, where the critics themselves shrink from adhering to their own test.

"The composite character of this chapter" is thus argued, VI, p. 25: "(1) 48:1 = 47:29"; but they belong to different occasions. "(2) v. 8 says Israel saw the children of Joseph, while 10a tells us, he could not see"; but if "Israel" is a mark of J, vs. 8, 10a and 11 belong to the same document, moreover while he saw Joseph's sons he could not tell who they were. "(3) vs. 15sq. break the story of the crossing of the hands"; they merely complete the statement of Jacob's action before proceeding to say how Joseph interrupted it. "(4) v. 20a = 19"; not so, v. 19 is an explanatory statement to Joseph, v. 20 the formal blessing pronounced upon his sons. The following "differences" are alleged: "(1) according to E, Jacob is sick in his last days; not so in J. (2) J alone has the story about Joseph's oath. (3) J alone has the anecdote about the crossing of hands. (4) According to E, Joseph only receives Jacob's blessing, no other of the children, as J gives in ch. 49. (5) Jacob's blindness is known only to J." This simply amounts to saying that if a narrative be divided into two or more parts, one part will not contain what is found in another part.

By the same species of legerdemain Wellhausen and Dillmann claim that 48:22 is at variance with 34:25, 26, and in the next breath confess that it agrees with vs. 27-29.

The following divine names occur in this chapter: El Shaddai, v. 3, with allusion to 35:11; Elohim, vs. 9, 11, 20 with reference to general providential blessings; **האלהים** "the God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God who fed me all my life long," is but a paraphrase of Yahweh; Elohim, v. 21, Jacob dies, but God will be with his descendants.

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\* Wellhausen, who here shows himself less heroically consistent than Dillmann, gives vs. 3-7 to P, but all the rest of the chapter to E, affirming that it shows everywhere the peculiarities of E and that Israel can no further be considered a mark of J.

## 3. Chapter 49.

49:1-27 is referred to J, not as composed by him, and consequently not on grounds of diction and style, but as a pre-existing writing incorporated in his work, which is inferred from previous allusions to what is here said of Reuben, v. 4, cf. 35:22, and of Simeon and Levi, vs. 5-7, cf. 34:30. It is especially urged that the latter conflicts with 48:22 E, where Jacob says to Joseph, "I have given thee one portion (שכם) above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow." It is said that Jacob could not have spoken of the capture of Shechem by his sons, which he so severely reprobated, as though it were his own act. This difficulty has been long felt and there have been various attempts at explanation, e. g., that לקחתי took was a prophetic preterite (Tuch), or that Shechem is not referred to, but some other district whose capture is not recorded (Kurtz), or that the allusion is to Jacob's purchase, 33:19, which he may subsequently have had to defend by force of arms. Kuenen supposes the same allusion, and proposes to read "not with my sword and with my bow." Josh. 24:32; John 4:5 and the word שכם show that some transaction at Shechem is referred to. While Jacob deprecated and sharply censured the action of his sons, it nevertheless was the act of the clan of which he was the head; but the property so acquired he gives not to those who participated in the deed, but to Joseph as a mark of special favor, and an earnest of his future inheritance in the land of promise.

The critics try to fix the age of this blessing of Jacob on the assumption that it is a *vaticinium post eventum*. Tuch refers it to the time of Samuel when the tribe of Levi was in ill-repute; Ewald to that of Samson the famous judge from the tribe of Dan, Knobel to the reign of David, Wellhausen to the period of the schism and the rival kingdoms of Judah and Joseph. Dillmann seeks to make it all square with the time of the judges. But the fact is that it is impracticable to find any one period, when this blessing could have been composed with the view of setting forth the existing state of things. The sceptre in Judah found no adequate fulfilment until the reign of David; and from that time forth the consideration enjoyed by the tribe of Levi was such that it could not possibly have been spoken of in the terms here employed. So that Kuenen in despair of finding any one date for the entire blessing supposes it to be made up of brief sayings which circulated in the tribes to which they severally related. But the censures passed upon the first three evidently prepare the way for that of Judah. The prominence given to Judah and Joseph are clearly intentional, not accidental, and several of the blessings would be insignificant or unmeaning, if taken by themselves and disconnected from the rest.

The structure and contents of this blessing make it impossible to explain it as a *vaticinium post eventum*. What is said respecting Levi compels to the

assumption that it is pre-Mosaic. A dispersion resulting from their priestly rank could not after that be spoken of as a sentence for the misdeed of their ancestor. The whole blessing is only comprehensible as utterances of the dying patriarch, modified by personal reminiscences, by insight into the characters of his sons and by their very names, with its ejaculation of pious faith, v. 18; and as a forecasting of the future which found its fulfilment at separate epochs and in unexpected ways, and which, while clear and sharp in a few strongly drawn outlines, is vague in others, and has no such exactness in minute details as suggests actual historical experience.

The mechanical rigor with which Dillmann adheres to the test furnished by the name "Jacob" appears from his sundering v. 1a from its connection and linking it with vs. 28b-33, which is given to P as the alleged doublet of 47:29-31, though this in reality describes a different scene. The emphatic iteration in vs. 29-32 as in the original account of the transaction referred to, ch. 23, shows the stress laid by the writer on this initial acquisition of a permanent possession in the land of Canaan.

The divine names אֱלֹהִים and יְהוָה, both suggestive of omnipotence, occur in v. 26; and יְהוָה in v. 18, where Jacob gives expression to his own pious trust.

#### 4. Chapter 50.

We are told that there are two distinct and varying accounts of Jacob's interment, VI., p. 20, J's vs. 1-11, 14, conducted by Joseph with great pomp and an immense retinue, and P's vs. 12, 13, in which all his sons and no others take part. J's narrative is the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out. He gives no account either of the death (49:33 P) or the burial. Joseph goes with a great company to bury his father: he comes back after burying his father; but of the actual burial nothing is said. The only account of that is in the verses that are cut out and assigned to P. Kautzsch finds a doublet in 10b and insists that there are three distinct places of interment representing as many variant narratives, the threshing-floor of Atad, Abel-mizraim, and the cave of Machpelah; only it so happens that this last is the only place at which any burial is spoken of. Joseph's report of his father's language, 50:5, does not precisely correspond with 47:30: but as both passages belong to J, no fresh argument for partition can arise, however it is to be explained.

Verses 15-26 are assigned to E on account of the repeated recurrence of Elohim, notwithstanding the two-fold statement of age, vs. 22, 26, such as is always elsewhere given to P, and two phrases which R is credited with having inserted from J, "spake to their heart," v. 21 as 34:3, and "the land which he sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob," v. 24; in the passages assigned to E no promise is given of the land of Canaan to any one of the patriarchs. The proof of unity arising from these frequent cross-references from one document to



the other can only be evaded by using the critical knife and invoking the agency of R.

P records the death and the interment; J the embalming, the funeral procession and the return from the grave; E the subsequent apprehensions of Joseph's brothers and his generous treatment of them. And yet these extracts from separate works, as they are said to be, match as perfectly as though they had come from the same pen, and the continuity of the narrative is as accurately preserved.

The divine names are, v. 17, "the God of thy father," which sufficiently identifies the God whom they served, and Elohim, vs. 19, 20, 24, 25, where the contrast is each time that of the human and the divine.

#### 5. LANGUAGE OF P.\*

(1) יָמִי שָׁנִי 47:3, 9, 23, but once beside in Hex. 25:7 P. (2) אֶחָדָה Sect. 5, Lang. of P. (3) פָּרָה Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (4) אֶל שְׂרִי Sect. 5, Lang. of P. (5) נָתַן (for שָׁם) V., p. 152. (6) קָהַל עַמִּים 28:3; 35:11; 48:4 P, all in Hex. (7)

וְרֵעַן אֶחָדָה Sect. 5, Lang. of P. (8) יָלִד HI, Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (9) פָּרָן Sect. 7, Lang. of P. (10) הֶאֱכִיף אֶל עַם Sect. 7, Lang. of P. (11) נָוֶה Sect. 3, Lang. of P (6:17). (12) מִכְפֹּלָה Sect. 8, Lang. of P.

#### 6. LANGUAGE OF J.

The words attributed to J with scarcely an exception occur also in E.

##### OLD WORDS.

(1) עֲבָרִיךְ Sect. 8, Lang. of J (also in E). (2) נָם with pers. pron., Sect. 8, Lang. of E. (3) נָם-נָם 24:25, 44; 48:8; 44:16; 46:34; 47:3, 19; 50:9; Deut. 32:25 J; Gen. 32:20; Ex. 12:31, 32; 18:18; Num. 23:25 E; Num. 18:3 P. (4) עָתָה V., p. 155, repeatedly in J and E, also in P 48:5. (5) נָא Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E and P). (6) שָׁם V., p. 154 (also E and P). (7) מִקְנֶה Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E and P). (8) כָּלֵבֵל Sect. 11, Lang. of E. (9) טָף Sect. 11, Lang. of J (also E and P). (10) שֹׁכֵר trade in grain, Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (11) הִבֵּה Sect. 4, Lang. of J (also E). (12) נָהַל Sect. 8, Lang. of J (also E). (13) אֲדָמָה V., p. 153 (also E and P). (14) רִק Sect. 3, Lang. of J (also E). (15) עָל-כֵּן Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E and P). (16) הֵן 15:8; 27:11; Ex. 5:5; 8:22; Num. 23:9 E; Ex. 6:12, 30; Lev. 10:18, 19; Num. 17:27 P; Num. 31:16 (latest constituents of) P. (17) מִצָּה דֵּן Sect. 3, Lang. of J (6:5-8). (18) עֲשֵׂה חֹסֶד Sect. 7, Lang. of J (also E). (19) אֲנִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E, once P). (20) שָׁתָה Sect. 8, Lang. of J (also E, once P (Well. Ex. 7:23)). (21) רָע בְּעֵינַי Sect. 6, Lang. of E.

(22) מָאֵן Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (23) גָּדַל Sect. 4, Lang. of J (also E, once P Num. 6:5). (24) קָרָא happen Sect. 11, Lang. of J (also E and P). (25) אֵן also E and P Ex. 12:44, 45; Num. 20:6; Josh. 22:31. (26) אֲרִיר also E and P Num. 5:18, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27. (27) קָשָׁה also E and P. (28) טָרַף Sect. 10, Lang. of J (also E). (29) רִבֵּן Sect. 2, Lang. of J (also E). (30) דֵּן Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E). (31) אֲרָח Sect. 6, Lang. of J (twice in Hex.). (32) כָּרַה 26:25; 50:5 J; Ex. 21:33; Num. 21:18 E. (33) מָקַל 50:10, 11 J; 27:41 JE; Deut. 34:8 P all in Hex. (34) יִהְיֶה explained above. (35) שָׁטַם 49:23 J (not composed by him); 27:41 JE; 50:15 E; all in Hex.

##### NEW WORDS.

(1) נָצַן (or יָצַן) 30:38; 33:15; 48:9; 47:2 J; Ex. 10:24 E; all in Hex. (2) לָטַח 47:31; Ex. 7:28 J; 48:2; 49:33 cut out of an E and P context and ascribed to J; all in Hex. (3) גָּרַן 50:10, 11 J; Num. 18:27, 30 P; Num. 15:20 S (Dill.), Editor of Lev. 17-28 (Well.); all in Hex. except Deut. (4) תָּמַךְ 48:17 J; Ex. 17:12 E; all in Hex.

\* The numbers are those of VI., p. 19.

† Nos. 27-31 are based on Gen. 49, which was not composed by J and does not represent his diction.

## RARE WORDS.

- (1) מַרְעָה 47:4 J; all in Hex.  
 (2) אָפֶס 47:15, 16 J; all in Hex.  
 (3) כָּחַד to conceal 47:18; Josh. 7:19; all in Hex. in this sense.  
 (4) גִּי'ה 47:17 J; all in Hex.

(5) הָא 47:23 J; all in Hex.

(6) חָנַט 50:2, 3 J; 50:28 E; all in Hex.

\* Ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

(1) לָהָה 47:13 J; all in Hex.

(2) קָן 48:10 J; all in O. T.

(3) שָׁכַל PL. 48:14 J; all in O. T.

## 7. LANGUAGE OF E.\*

The words attributed to E with scarcely an exception occur also in J.

- (1) אֱלֹהִים explained above. (2) חָכַק Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (3) שִׁים V., p. 154 (Lang. of J.). (4) אֲנֹכִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (5) שָׁטַם Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (6) נָשָׂא *forgive* Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (7) נָא Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (8) חָשַׁב Sect. 10, Lang. of J. (9) כָּלְכַל Sect. 11, Lang. of E. (10) נָחַם Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (11) טָף Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (12) דָּבַר עַל לֵב Sect. 9, Lang. of J.

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) שָׁלַשִׁים 50:23 E; Ex. 34:7 J; Ex. 20:3 JE; Num. 14:18 R; all in Hex. except Deut.

## RARE WORDS.

(1) פָּלַל PL. 48:11 E; all in Hex.

(2) דָּנָה (verb) 48:16 E; all in Hex.

(3) נָחַל (QAL) 50:15, 17 E; all in Hex.

## CONCLUSION.

We have now completed the critical study of the Book of Genesis and may pause at this point, while we sum up in a few words the results of our investigation. The critics claim that the alternation of divine names in this book is best accounted for by the assumption that Genesis is compiled from different documents, each using its own particular term for God; and when the partition is effected on this basis, each is found to have all the marks of separate authorship, its own peculiar diction and style, its own plan and purpose, and a conception of the history and of religious truth peculiar to itself. How far does the reality correspond with the claim which they make?

The interchange of divine names can, as we have seen, be readily accounted for in every instance from the significance and general biblical usage of the names themselves, while it cannot be brought into harmony with the hypothesis of the critics. In repeated instances Yahweh occurs where by the hypothesis it ought not to be, as 15:1, 2; 17:1; 20:18; ch. 22; 28:21, and if Dillmann is right in referring ch. 14 to E, in 14:22. Elohim and El Shaddai also occur in inconvenient places, 4:25; 7:9; 48:14, and require the separation of what is most closely united, as 33:5, 11; ch. 48, etc., etc.

In spite of the utmost efforts and the most ingenious devices it is impracticable to make out the continuity of the documents. By dint of picking out available clauses here and there and sundering them from their proper connection a shift is made to carry J' along through the flood, and P through the early history of Abraham, R's conduct in preserving these scraps being explained by his reluctance to omit even the most insignificant portion of his sources. But this has to

\* The numbers are those of VI., p. 24.

be abandoned in the lives of Isaac, Jacob and Joseph, where the most enormous gaps confessedly occur in each of the so-called documents. And everywhere in fact it appears that one document implies or expressly alludes to what is stated only in another; so that Dillmann maintains that J made use of E, and Jülicher that P drew upon both J and E; and indeed an unbiased consideration of the facts shows that they are all so closely bound together by mutual references and implications as well as by conformity of plan and purpose, that they cannot by possibility have been independently conceived and written.

In the attempt to establish the separateness of the documents large use is made of what the critics are pleased to consider parallel narratives, but which are not such in fact. Gen. 2 is treated as though it were a second account of the creation, when it is really a sequel to Gen. 1 preliminary to the fall, Gen. 3. God's subjective purpose to send the flood, 6:7, is confounded with his declaration of that purpose to Noah, 6:13, his acceptance of Noah's sacrifice, 8:20-22, with his consequent covenant with Noah, 9:1 sqq., as though these were identical repetitions implying different narrators; and so in numberless instances. Successive parts of the same transaction, or different elements entering into its constitution (e. g., the human and the divine, 30:37 sqq.; 31:7 sqq., or different motives for Jacob's journey, 27:42 sqq., 46, or for the hatred of Joseph, 37:4, 8) are converted into variant accounts of the same thing when in fact they are mutually consistent and supplementary. This has been carried by Wellhausen and Dillmann to the utmost extravagance by means of so-called doublets, every emphatic repetition or enlargement being so considered and held to be an indication of some imaginary parallel of which only these occasional snatches survive.

Parallels are further found in totally distinct events, which differ in the actors, times, localities and circumstances, but have some general and easily explained resemblance. The resemblances are first paraded in proof of identity, and then the differences as so many discrepancies in the several accounts. Discrepancies are further multiplied by isolating passages and needlessly interpreting them at variance with their connection, every evidence of consistency being arbitrarily thrown out of the text as a harmonizing addition by R, e. g., 7:7-9; 13:1; 15:7; 16:8-10; 26:1, 15; 35:9, etc., etc.

The most capricious and inconsistent conduct is attributed to R, such as is an impeachment of both his honesty and good sense. He is held responsible in fact for everything that is at variance with the requirements of the hypothesis. And on the supposition that such a person really existed and did the work ascribed to him, it is quite impossible to form any intelligent notion of his methods or his aims. We are told that in some places he carefully preserves minute fragments of his sources, though they are a superfluous repetition of what has already been more fully stated in the language of other documents, and yet elsewhere he freely omits large and essential portions of them. In some



places he preserves unchanged what is represented to be plainly antagonistic, while in other places he is careful to smooth away discrepancies, and to give a different turn to variant passages by transpositions or by insertions of his own. He sometimes keeps his documents quite distinct in language and form, at others he effaces their peculiarities or blends them inextricably together. All these offices must be assumed by turns in order to carry the hypothesis safely through; but whether such a bundle of contradictions was ever incarnate in any actually existing person, the only proof of his existence being that these contradictory things are alleged about him, every one may judge for himself.

The diversity of diction and of religious conception, which is claimed for the so-called documents is as fallacious as the other arguments urged in proof of their separate existence. Formidable lists of words and phrases are massed together as the peculium of this or the other document. And the first impression produced by marshalling so vast an array naturally is that this is a very significant circumstance indeed. But it only needs a patient examination of these details with the lexicon and concordance, and a careful scrutiny of their real bearing, to show that they are absolutely devoid of significance for the purpose for which they are adduced.

Words are not to be mechanically counted but intelligently estimated. They are signs of thought; and that the words vary with the thought to be expressed implies no diversity of writers. A writer does not forfeit his identity because he uses words in one place which he has no occasion to employ in another. A very large number of words occur in J and E which are not found in P, and a considerable number in P which are not in J and E; but the reason is obvious. It should be observed at the outset that the words credited by the critics to particular documents require not a little sifting. A thorough examination shows that many of them recur in other documents likewise, or are of very rare occurrence even in that document to which they are assigned, and consequently are either not peculiar to it or not characteristic of it. These are plainly of no moment from any point of view.

But besides this, all that is assigned to P in Genesis, ch. 1-11, apart from genealogies is the creation, 1:1-2:3, and what is regarded as his account of the deluge in chs. 6-9. The great proportion of the words here classed as peculiar to P occur in no other P section of Genesis; then why should it be accounted strange, if they are not found in any section of J? They belong to the description of grand and world-wide events affecting all orders of animated beings; and why should they be expected to recur in narratives of the every-day life of individual men? The terms for God's covenanting with Noah recur when he covenants with Abraham. Those that respect the sex and species of animals recur in the ritual prescriptions dealing with such subjects. But many more technical terms of the ritual are to be found in J, Gen. 1-11, e. g., נֶפֶשׁ *soul* (=

person), קרם *east*, זהב *gold*, אבן שהם *onyx stone*, צלע *rib*, לחם *bread*, עפר *dust*, כתנת *coat*, עור *skin*, כרובים *cherubim*, מנחה *offering*, חלב *fat*, צאן *flock*, נשא פנים *lift up the face* (4:7), חטאת *sin*, פתח *door*, ארר *curse*, עון *bear iniquity*, פני יהוה *face of Yahweh*, אהל *tent*, מקנה *cattle*, נחשת *brass*, ברזל *iron*, טהור *clean*, יונה *dove*, זית *olive*, מזבח *altar*, העלה *offer*, עולה *burnt offering*, ריח ניחח *sweet savour*, יין *wine*, ערוה *nakedness*. This list of words common to the J section of Gen. 1-11 and to the ritual law, and which are not found in the P portion of these chapters and for the most part in none of the sections assigned to P in Genesis, might be yet further increased. It shows, if critical arguments have any value, that the former has as much claim as the latter, or even a greater claim to be regarded as of one piece with the ritual law. The J sections of these chapters really offer more points of contact with the diction of the ritual law than the P sections do. And in respect to the genealogies, it has already been pointed out, V., p. 162, that ch. 5 is as closely bound to chs. 2-4, J, as to ch. 1, P.

In the rest of Genesis, chs. 12-50, two chapters are assigned to P, viz.: chs. 17 and 23, the former recording the institution of circumcision, in which the phrases of the ritual law are to be expected, the latter the purchase of the cave of Machpelah with legal precision and formality. The promises of ch. 17 and the transaction of ch. 23 are repeatedly referred to, and, as is natural, in language borrowed from these chapters. Apart from these chapters and passages based upon them, P is confined to genealogies or brief statements for the most part of the patriarchs' removals, or of their ages or death. The entire narrative portion is given to J, or divided between J and E. Of course the words and phrases appropriate to such matters as are assigned to P are found in P; and such as are appropriate to ordinary narratives are found in J and E. With such a distribution of the material it could not be otherwise. It requires no assumption of a diversity of writers to account for it. In one chapter only, ch. 34, the critics are compelled by the allusion to circumcision to allow P a share in the narrative, and the result is instructive. The diction of P is there indistinguishable from that of J, and the critics are utterly at sea as to the lines of demarcation. It has further been shown that the paragraphs recording the removals of the patriarchs are more closely linked to J than to P; that ch. 17, P, is indissolubly connected with the preceding and following chapters of J, of which it is an indispensable link, and that it owes all its alleged peculiarities to its position in this ascending series; and that the statements of the ages of the patriarchs cannot all be referred to P without doing the utmost violence to the connection. In fact the critics are in the habit of playing fast and loose with a criterion which at times is their sole or chief dependence, and at others is disregarded entirely. While they profess to trace documents in a great measure by the connection of their several parts, they in numerous instances sunder what is most intimately bound together

by necessary implications or express allusions, thus nullifying their own principal clue and invalidating their own conclusions.

The two forms of the divisive hypothesis in chs. 12-50 are tossed on the opposite horns of a dilemma. The supplementary critics, who recognize but one Elohist and accordingly regard E as a part of P, can establish no criteria, by which to distinguish it from J. The documentary critics, who find two Elohist by separating E from P, leave for the latter only incoherent and unrelated fragments torn from their proper connection, which are without reason assumed to have once constituted a distinct document.

Between J and E scarcely any discrimination is attempted in point of diction beyond יְהוָה of one and אֱלֹהִים of the other. The "special characteristics," whether in thought or language, by which E is said to be distinguished from J are considered, V., p. 171, and shown not to be distinctive at all. The alleged theological differences between P and J are also considered, V., p. 182, and shown so far as they actually exist to be involved in the meaning and usage of the divine names. Do not the facts of the case accordingly compel to the conclusion that the divisive hypothesis has no rational basis whatever in the Book of Genesis?

It has been my object throughout this discussion, so far as it has now proceeded, to examine with candor and thoroughness all the arguments in favor of a critical division of Genesis. I feel, as I stated in my first paper, no antecedent repugnance to such a division, if it can be fairly proved and apart from the revolutionary and destructive consequences, which are ordinarily deduced from it. But so far as I can see, the case is not proven. In spite of all the critical clamor, and the scholarly names arrayed on the side of the divisive hypothesis, I see no good ground for abandoning the old traditional belief of the unity of Genesis. And if the divisive hypothesis cannot maintain itself on literary grounds in Genesis, it cannot do so anywhere. In the historical portions of the Pentateuch that follow and in the Book of Joshua the analysis proposed by the critics is far more complicated, and simply amounts to forcing through a hypothesis considered as already established. It very plainly gathers no strength as it proceeds.

In the legislative portion of the Pentateuch the question turns no longer upon literary criteria, but upon an entirely different principle: are the institutions and enactments of the Pentateuch the growth of ages or the product of one age and of a single mind? It is here that the battle of the Mosaic authorship must be fought. Meanwhile the investigations thus far conducted justify at least a negative conclusion. We have examined the so-called anachronisms of the Book of Genesis, and find nothing which militates against its being the work of Moses. It is plainly designed to be introductory to the law. And if that law was given by Moses, as has always been believed and as the Scriptures abundantly declare, then Genesis, too, was his work.

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF GEOGRAPHY.

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### II. CANDELABRUM SANCTORUM AND LIBER RADIORUM OF GREGORIUS BAR 'EBHRĀYĀ.

In continuation of my contribution to No. 3 of the *Mittheilungen des Akademisch-Orientalistischen Vereins zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1890), I publish here two further short texts on geography by the same author. The first is taken from M'nārath Qudhšē<sup>1</sup>, and is intended to accompany and to explain the chart I published in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, May, 1888, 16sq.<sup>2</sup>

For the first text three MSS. were available:

B. Ms. Berlin, Sachau 81; fol. 37a.—of the year 1403.<sup>3</sup>

P. Ms. Paris, Syriac 210 (Ancient Fonds 121); fol. 36a.—of the year 1404.<sup>4</sup>

C. Ms. Cambridge University Libr., Syriac 21; fol. 29a—in a good Jacobite hand, if I remember aright, of the XVIth century.<sup>5</sup>

Although this text, with the exception of the last section on *fountains and rivers*, runs parallel with §§ 3-6 of the text published in the *Mittheilungen*, it seems to be of sufficient interest to deserve publication by itself. One section on the river *Sambation*, I have omitted entirely, as it is found word for word in the following extract.

For the second text I have had also three MSS. at my disposal.

B. Ms. Berlin Sachau 85; fol. 14b.—probably of the XVIIIth century.

P. Ms. Paris Syriac 213 (Ancient Fonds 129); fol. 10a.<sup>6</sup>

O. Ms. Bodleian Or. 467; fol. 16b.—of the year 1576.<sup>7</sup> This text covers, substantially, the same ground as the two preceding ones. We can see from this how it was that BE. was able to compile so many works.

I have printed the texts as I have found them in the MSS. It is impossible,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HEBRAICA, III., p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> In the Cambridge MS. the map is much more distinct. A good many additional names can be made out. I only note (*Proceedings*, p. xvii., 22) that the line must read ܡܨܪ ܕܡܨܪ ܕܡܨܪ

ܡܨܪ ܕܡܨܪ ܕܡܨܪ ܕܡܨܪ ܕܡܨܪ ܕܡܨܪ ܕܡܨܪ ܕܡܨܪ ܕܡܨܪ ܕܡܨܪ

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *A list of Plants* p. 3. Neither of the other two MSS. contain the list.

<sup>4</sup> Zotenberg, *Catalogue*, p. 161.

<sup>5</sup> Prof. W. Robertson Smith, chief librarian in 1889, was kind enough to allow me the use of this MS.

<sup>6</sup> Zotenberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 164.

<sup>7</sup> Payne-Smith, *Catalogue*, Col. 537.

in many cases, to prefer the reading of one MSS. to that of another. For that reason I have burdened the foot-notes with a full list of variants. Emendations, when necessary, have been put into the translation or have been especially mentioned in the notes.

The spelling of the proper names has caused some difficulty. When I have suspected a Greek original, I have given the name in Greek; where an Arabic, in Arabic. When the name is current in Syriac literature, I have given the usual English equivalent. In giving the Greek originals, I have scrupled to depart from what I have found in my dictionary; though, at times, the Syriac text seems to intimate a different reading, e. g.:

Τιβεριὰς—ܬܝܒܪܝܐ, though one MS. has ܬܝܒܝܬ with *q*.

Αραμαεα—ܐܪܡܝܐ.

Μαρεώτις—ܡܪܝܬܝܐ.

Καίκασος—ܡܪܝܬܝܐ, where one MS., however, seems to have read 'ܡܪܝܬܝܐ.

Νύσης—ܢܝܫܝܐ. One MS. has ܢܝܫܝܐ which perhaps = ܢܝܫܝܐ (Νύσος).

Σεϋλαί—ܣܝܠܝܐ in acc.

Αδρία—ܐܕܪܝܐ ending in *os*. One MS. has *as*; but the *Adscensus Mentis* also has *os*.

Βέβοια—ܒܝܝܐ.

Μαυώτις—ܡܐܘܝܬܝܐ.

The whole subject of the Syriac transcription of Greek needs a special investigation—for which Duval's *Bar Bahtul* gives ample material.

The notes I have made as few and as short as possible. The necessary information and verifications will be found in the foot-notes to the translation in the *Mittheilungen*. There, in the introduction, I have spoken of the authorities from whom BE. seems to have taken his information. I am able to add two more names here. The one is the celebrated Abū-Raiḥān Muḥammad Ben 'Aḥmad Albēṛūnī, the Herodotus of India. Compare, e. g., the extracts cited by Qazwīnī I., p. 104, 17, p. 147, with the account of the 'Ωκεανός as given by BE. and the corresponding parts in the *Mittheilungen*. Whether BE. knew of Bēṛūnī outside of the citations in Qazwīnī I am unable to say. The second source is Aristotle in his *Μετεωρολογικά*. In the last section of the first extract, on *fountains and rivers*, I have shown the dependence in a number of cases. By what means BE. became acquainted with this work, I am not now in a position to explain. The fact itself is interesting.

#### ON THE POSITION OF THEIR SEAS AND THEIR BAYS.

That all-encircling sea which is outside of the whole habitable world and surrounds the whole earth is called 'Αρλαντικός and 'Ωκεανός. Some call its western



side alone Ὠκεανός. Of this a narrow mouth opens in the western corner to the inside, that which is called the strait of Hercules. There, also, are the στῆλαι, i. e., the pillars of Hercules. This mouth, then, flowing towards the east, widens, forming that bay of the Ἀδριακ Sea which is the *Sea of the Romans* and the *Sea of the Syrians*. From this bay a tongue goes and becomes narrowed. It passes along the wall of *Constantinople*, and is called the *Sea of Pontus*. Thus, to the south of the Ἀδριακ Sea lie *Alexandria* and *Egypt*. To the north of it are *Constantinople* and *Ρώμη* and the whole land *Francia*. In it are celebrated islands which are fully known to us, as *Κύπρος*, *Σάμος*, *Χίος*, *Ρόδος*, and *Σικελία*. To the east of it are the lands of Syria and those of this our sea.

The Ὠκεανός Sea, which is outside of the Herculean pillars, its flowing going towards the south, passes by the lands of the western Arabs, and by that *Silver mountain* and (those) *Moon mountains*, from whose caves spring the waters of the river *Νεῖλος*, and by the lands of the *Abyssinians*, and by the lands of the *Nubians*, i. e., by the whole land of the Cushites. At the end of this land there stretches out from it a certain small bay towards the north, opposite Egypt, which is called the *Sea of Reeds*, as if it were the end and termination of the *great sea*.<sup>3</sup> In it passed the children of Israel on foot and Pharaoh was drowned. On account of the multitude of mountains and rocks in this bay, ships are unable to ride in it—except, perhaps, at day along its banks. That great sea from which this bay proceeds is called the *Red Sea*. And this, flowing towards the east, passes along the lands of *Sh'bilā* and *Saba*, and along that land which is simply called the *South*. There are trees and frankincense. At the end of this land the sea which is called *Red*, forms a large bay towards the north, that which is called *Persian Gulf*. On the western side of this gulf is a city which is called *Basra*, and the whole land of *Babel* and *Seleucia*, and *Otesiphon*. On its northern side are all the lands of the Persians. On its eastern side are the lands of the Indians.

The all-encircling sea, also, which is outside of this bay, flowing towards the east, passes along the lands of the Indians. At their end it forms a bay to the north which is called the *Sea of the Indians*. To the west of this sea are the lands of the Indians; to the east are the lands of the Tibetans. After them come the lands of the Chinese. To the north of it are the lands of the Huns, i. e., Turks, who are the Mongolians, it being their primitive land from which they have gone forth. The all-encircling sea outside of this bay, going further to the east, passes the well-known islands of the Indians, called *SRNDIB*, and another which is called *Qamīr*<sup>4</sup> and the other islands and mountains, from which are brought and

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Payne-Smith, col. 2577, where K. has the same derivation. The last Syriac word there is, of course, ܩܡܝܪ.

<sup>4</sup> I cannot substantiate this pronounciation. Yāqūt, l. p. 21, 11, gives *Qumār*; Reinand, *Relation des voyages*, etc., text, p. 24, Sprenger, *El-Mas'ūdī's.....Meadows of Gold*, p. 156, Dimīqī, *Cosmographie*, p. 19, 2, give *Qumār*. BE. can have reference only to Cape Comorin, Ptolemaeus,



exchanged these sharp and costly and aromatic spices, قرنفل, النجور, فلغل, قافور, etc.; and also precious stones, βάκτρος, etc.<sup>10</sup>

And so, stretching from east to north, it passes the lands of the Tibetans and Chinese and the land of the Huns which we have mentioned, and the land of the Iberians and many lands which are waste, and mountains which are inaccessible. It passes, then, by a great and black mountain which is in the north, and along the plains of the Caspians and the land of the Alanes. There it forms a bay from north to south, that which is called WRNG<sup>11</sup> in the language of that place. So, stretching from the north towards the west, it passes along the lands of the Scythians and the cities of the Bulgarians, and all Francia and the land of Andalus of the Arabs, where in our days the Franks rule. It comes to an end near the pillars of Hercules, from where it had commenced. Thus, the whole inhabitable world becomes like unto an island within the all-encircling sea, which encompasses the earth as a crown does the head or a girdle the loins.

From this chart which we have drawn, one can look at the inhabited world as in a vision, it being divided into seven κλίματα. (One can also see) the position of every land and every sea inlet which is derived from that all-encircling sea. In the land of the Iberians there is one lake which exists of itself, and stands in no connection with the all-encircling sea—so that one commencing at some well-known place on its banks and going all around it, would be able to reach the place where he commenced<sup>12</sup> were it not for that great river, which is called ATL, which pours its waters into this lake. This lake, on account of its greatness and extent, is called in books and in common parlance a sea and not a lake. Ptolemaeus calls it Ὑρανία Sea. In our days they call it خزر. To the west of this sea is the gate of Iron,<sup>13</sup> and the plains of the Caspians and Sharwān and Taberistān; to the south Great Armenia; to the east the lands of the Iberians; to the north that great and desolate black mountain which is at the end of the earth,<sup>14</sup> i. e. EN.

#### ON LAKES.

Lakes are those (seas) that do not unite with that great sea Ὠκεανός. They are many in the habitable world. But those which are known to us are as fol-

*Geogr.*, vii., 1, § 9, Κομαρία ἄκρον καὶ πόλις. Qazwīnī l., p. 171, 9. Ethe, *Kosmographie*, p. 502. Masudi (Sprenger, *loc. cit.*) says expressly that it is not an island! The confounding of this name with that for Cambodia (Ibn Khordādhbeh, ed. de Goeje, p. 88, 13) is well-known. See Yule, *The Book of ser Marco Polo*, II., p. 318.

<sup>10</sup> Reinsud, *loc. cit.*, p. 78qq.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *PAOS*, May, 1888, p. xviii, note 18. Dimīšqī, p. 133, 18. Yāqūt, l., p. 20, 16. Peschel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, p. 106.

<sup>12</sup> Qazwīnī, l., p. 100, 7.

<sup>13</sup> Pliny, vi., 2, § 11.

<sup>14</sup> Warren, *Paradise Found*, 135sqq.

lows: the lake of *Apamaea*,<sup>15</sup> and that of *Tiberias*,<sup>16</sup> and that which is called *Μαρεώτις*<sup>17</sup> near Alexandria, and that lake of *Genessareth*<sup>18</sup> where—as they say—are no fish because its waters change three times a day. From it wells up pitch in the form of a bull without a head.<sup>19</sup> Not by iron nor by stone can it be split or broken. It can only be soluted by stagnant waters and menstrual blood. And (there is) that lake in Armenia which is called *Arkistia*, i. e., *Argish* and other lakes which are in *Adhorbigān* and in the lands of Persia, and countless others.<sup>19</sup>

## ON FOUNTAINS AND RIVERS.

Above we have spoken of two kinds of vapors<sup>20</sup>—one dry and cloud-like, the other volatile and moist. Each one of them is either above the earth or within it. That cloud-like one above the earth produces winds and moves the air. (The one) within the earth moves and shifts the earth and produces earthquakes according to its strength. That volatile one above the earth, i. e., in the air, causes rains and snowfalls, etc.; within it [i. e., the earth] it causes fountains to flow. Those vapors, however, which are within the earth, if they possess sufficient power to rend the earth and their fullness is great, produce rivers.<sup>21</sup> But if their fullness is small, they produce fountains. If they are between the two, they form pools. In case they have not sufficient power to rend—if they flow, they are called rivulets; if they do not flow, wells. Most fountains flow from the north on account of the great mountains which are there.

<sup>15</sup> Strabo, xvi., 2, §10 (ed. Kramer, p. 289, 7.) The spelling of the name—with a *ωαω*—is very curious.

<sup>16</sup> We have here the unusual form ending in *ως* instead of *ίας*.

<sup>17</sup> Strabo, xvii., 1, §7.

<sup>18</sup> There is evidently some mistake here, as BE. has just mentioned the Lake of Tiberias! In his *Adscensus Mentis*, he says the same of the Cherith (1 Kgs. xvii., 3, 5, cf. *Mittheilungen des Acad.-Oriental. Vereins*, No. 3, p. 36, I believe that is also the correct reading here. Cf. also Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, ii., 3, §38. ZDPV., ii., p. 113sqq.

<sup>19</sup> I have only now (September) had a chance to look into Guy le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*. On p. 65, I see that the Persian traveler, Nāsir-i-Khusrān (1047) makes a similar remark. Le Strange (ibid., p. 66) refers me to Josephus, B. J., iv., 8, §4—a passage which I ought not to have overlooked when I wrote *Mittheilungen*, etc., p. 36, note 2. Evidently BE. has drawn on Josephus for his description of this lake. The passage reads: *τρίς γὰρ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀλλάσσειται, . . . τῆς μίνοι ἀσφαλτοῦ κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη βώλους μέλανας ἀναδέωσιν, αἱ δὲ ἐπιπλήσσονται τῷ τε χύμα καὶ τῷ μέγεθος ταύροις ἀκεφάλοις παραπλήσιαι . . . ἕως ὃν ἐμυρνίῳ γυναικῶν αἵματι καὶ οὖρῳ διαλέσσωσιν αὐτὴν, οἷς μόνοις εἰκεῖ.* Cf. also Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv., 1, pp. 732, 736.

<sup>20</sup> Arist. *Meteor.*, ii., 4, §1. Περὶ δὲ πνευμάτων λέγωμεν, λαβόντες ἀρχὴν τὴν εἰρημένην ἡμῖν ἥδη πρότερον. ἔστι γὰρ δύο εἶδη τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως, ὡς φαμεν, ἡ μὲν ἰγρὰ, ἡ δὲ ξηρά. Cf. *ibid.*, §5. Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, p. 141, 13sqq. Sprenger, *El-Mas'udfi's . . . Meadows of Gold*, p. 231. Qazwini, i., p. 189.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Olympiodorus to Aristotle, *Meteor.*, i.; xii., §11. Κρηῶν καὶ ποταμῶν τὸ ἀπὸ γῆς ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχὴν διάφορον διὰ τὸ πόσον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀπὸ μεγάλης πηγῆς, ἡ δὲ κρήνη ἀπὸ μικρῆς. (*Meteor.*, ed. Ideler i., p. 252.)

Many are the fissures in the mountains. They are like the pores of a sponge.<sup>22</sup> From every side waters flow from them downwards. And that rivers which are very great arise from great mountains<sup>23</sup> is seen from the fact that Ἀράξης<sup>24</sup> the great river comes down from Mount Παρνάσος which is in Asia.<sup>25</sup> From this mountain, also, comes the Ἰνδός, that one which is greater than all (other) rivers. The river Φάσις flows from Mount Καύκασος<sup>26</sup> and runs into the Πόντος. And that this mountain is higher than all the summer mountains of the east<sup>27</sup> is known from the fact that only during the middle third of the night is the sun invisible.<sup>28</sup> From Πυρήνη, the mountain in the west, flow the Ταρτησσός and the Ἰστρος, the great rivers. From the mountains of the Scythians flow rivers which are very great. From among the Cushites commence the rivers Αἰγών and Νύσης.<sup>29</sup> From that silver mountain rise the rivers Χρεμέτης<sup>30</sup> and Νείλος. Pīshōn, as the Pentateuch testifies, is that river which waters the land of the Indians which is called *Hawilā*. *Gihōn*, i. e., *Nile*, is the river that waters the land of the Cushites and Egypt and the west. It is also called "the Black." The *Tigris*, narrow and rushing, waters the land of Persia and the north; and the *Euphrates* waters the land of *Babel* and *Maishān*, i. e., *Bagra*.

Ray. The whole inhabited world—as if it were an island—is encircled by the sea Ὠκεανός, that (sea) which commences at the *Islands of the Blessed* and at

<sup>22</sup> Arist. *Meteor.*, i.; xiii., § 12. Οἱ γὰρ ὄρεινοι καὶ ὑψηλοὶ, τόποι οἷον σπόγγος πυκνὸς ἐπικρέμμενος.

<sup>23</sup> Arist. *Meteor.*, i.; xiii., § 11. Καὶ πλείστοι καὶ μέγιστοι ποταμοὶ ῥέουσιν ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων ὄρων. *Ibid.*, § 14. Οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν ποταμῶν ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων φαίνονται ῥέοντες ὄρων.

<sup>24</sup> Arist. *Meteor.*, i., xiii., § 16. Ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτου ῥέουσιν ἄλλοι τε ποταμοὶ καὶ ὁ Βάκτρος καὶ ὁ Χόσπης καὶ ὁ Ἀράξης.

<sup>25</sup> Arist. *Meteor.*, i.; xiii., § 15. Ἐκ μὲν οὖν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πλείστοι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Παρνασοῦ καλουμένου φαίνονται ῥέοντες ὄρους καὶ μέγιστοι ποταμοὶ, τούτο δ' ὁμολογεῖται πάντων εἶναι μέγιστον ὄρος τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ χειμαρινῇ. Cf. Olympiodorus, *loc. cit.*, p. 248. Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.*, V., ch. xiii., §§ 3, 6, 9. On Parnassus-Paropamisus, see in addition to *Mithell. des Acad. Orient. Vereins*, No. 3, p. 37, note 3, Ideler's note in vol. I., p. 462 of his ed. of the *Meteorologica*.

<sup>26</sup> Arist. *Meteor.*, i.; xiii., § 17. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Καυκάσου ἄλλοι τε ῥέουσι πολλοὶ . . . καὶ ὁ Φάσις.

<sup>27</sup> I have translated literally. The expression "ἑταὶ madhneḥā qat'ayā" = τῶν (i. e., ὄρων) πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ θερικῇ. Cf. Arist. *Meteor.*, i.; xiii., § 17. Ὁ δὲ Καύκασος μέγιστον ὄρος τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ θερικῇ ἐστὶ καὶ πλήθει καὶ ὕψει. See also Olympiodorus *ad loc.* (*loc. cit.*, p. 248) and Alexander (*Ibid.*, p. 253).

<sup>28</sup> Arist. *Meteor.*, i.; xiii., § 18. Σημεῖον δὲ τοῦ μὲν ὕψους ὅτι ὁράται καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καλουμένων βαθέων καὶ εἰς τὴν λίμνην εἰσπλεόντων, ἐτι δ' ἡλιούται τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοῦ τὰ ἄκρα μέχρι τοῦ τρίτου μέρους ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς ἐν καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Mithellungen*, etc., p. 38, note 3.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, note 4. The text must be corrected accordingly. I have corrected the *Beth*, which the MSS. have into a *Kāph*. The same correction must be made *Mithellungen*, etc., p. 38 and *Ibid.*, note 6. Cf. Arist. *Meteor.*, i.; xiii., § 21. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην . . . ὁ τε Χρεμέτης καλούμενος, ὃς εἰς τὴν ἐξω ρεῖ θάλατταν, καὶ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ρεῖμα τὸ πρῶτον, ἐκ τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ καλουμένου ὄρους. Cf. also Ideler's note *ad loc.*, p. 465.

that (island) in the west which is called Γάδαιρα.<sup>31</sup> It goes outside of the whole earth to the south and passes the *Moon mountains* from which springs the Nile. It encircles the *Abyssinians* and the *Nubians*, forming the *Sea of the Berbers*, whose length is 500 miles, and whose breadth is 100 miles. It goes further, forming the *Red Sea*—that which becomes narrow and reaches in length 400 miles; its greatest breadth, which is the *Sea of Reeds* where the Israelites crossed, being 200 miles. It goes further, encircling the wilderness of *Pārān*, forming the *Sea of the Elamites*, where the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* empty; the length of which (sea) is 1400 miles, its breadth 500. It goes further, encircling all *Persia* and *India*, forming the *Sea of the Indians*, the length of which is 1800 miles. In it are 1870 islands—one of which is called *Tīrani*<sup>32</sup> or *Sarandīb*. It is very great, 1800 miles being its circumference. In it are high mountains and many rivers. From it are brought the red βάκκος and scarlet color.<sup>33</sup> It goes further, encircling the east, forming the *Sea of the Chinese*. It goes further, encircling the north, passing along the desolate mountains of the *Huns* and the lands of the *Bulgarians* and *Scythians*, and *Alanes*, forming the *Sea γαλατικόν* in which are nineteen islands of Βρεττανία. It encircles *Francia* and joins again with the *Isles of the Blessed* and Γάδαιρα.

Ray. Here a narrow mouth [strait] opens which is seven miles in breadth where are the στήλας or pillars of Hercules. It enters and passes in the midst of the inhabited world, reaching towards the east a distance of 5000 miles in length and 800 in breadth, forming that sea of us western people which is called Ἀδρία, in the north of which is Ῥώμη and *Francia* and Βυζάντια and all Εὐρώπη. And in its southern part which is called Σικελικόν<sup>34</sup> are *Abessynians*, *Nubians*, *Berbers*, and *Egypt*, and *Alexandria*, and all Λιβύη. And in its eastern part which is named *Sea of the Syrians*, is *Tyre* and *Sidon* and all *Asia*. In this are five large islands, the smallest of which is Κίπρος, the circumference of which is 200 miles; and Σαρδων(ία) 300; and Σικελία 500; and Κρήτη 800; and Κύρνος 350; and five small ones, Ῥόδος, Κυμανος(?)<sup>35</sup>, Σάμος, Εὐβοία, Χίος, and 252<sup>36</sup> others which are not designated.

Ray. The sea Πόντος is in the land of the *Scythians*. Its length is 1800 miles up to Trebizond.<sup>37</sup> Its breadth is 300. From this a narrow tongue passes along

<sup>31</sup> Pliny, iv., 33.

<sup>32</sup> P. reads Tirnani!

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Lagarde, *Rudimenta Mythologiae Semiticae*, etc., p. 43. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 27, 3. Gesenius, *De Bar Ak*, i., p. 225qq. Sachs, *Beiträge zur Sprach- und Alterthumsforschung*, ii., p. 23. Fleischer in Levy's *Neu.-Heb. und Chald. Wörterb.*, p. 725—all of which Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, vi., p. 91, should have cit-d.

<sup>34</sup> I. e., τὸ Σικελικόν πέλαγος. This reading must be restored in the text.

<sup>35</sup> The reading is quite plain here. I can only suggest that we have here again a mistake—for *Cos*. See other readings for the same name *Mithelungen*, etc., p. 33, note 3.

<sup>36</sup> In the *Advocatus Mentis* (text, p. 820) lower 250.

<sup>37</sup> Written *Trabizondā*; cf. the Arabic form Yākūt, i., p. 306.

the wall of Βυζάντιον,<sup>38</sup> and pours into the 'Αδρία sea. North of this is placed the Μαῖωτις, the sea of the *Caspians*, i. e., of the QNYA. Former men called it Ὑρκανία or of the *Iberians*. In our days it is called خزر Sea. From it a river-tongue empties into the Πόντος Sea, as the Πόντος Sea does into the 'Αδρία, and the 'Αδρία into the Ὠκεανός.

Ray. Lakes are called such as do not unite with the great sea, as the lake of Ἀρπασαία, Τιβέρις, and Μαρεώτις(ς) which is near *Alexandria*, and that one which is void of fish, Γενεσάρεθ; and that one of ARKSTIA, i. e., ارجیش;<sup>39</sup> and that of خوارزم; and many others. The Μαῖωτις alone, on account of its size, is called a sea and not a lake.<sup>40</sup>

Ray. Pīshōn is that one which waters the land of the Indians which is called *Hawīlā*. The Gūhōn is the Νείλος, which waters the land of the *Cushites* and Egypt and is called Shihōr (black); and the Τίγρις, narrow and quick, watering *Persia* and the north. The *Euphrates* waters *Babel* and *Maishān*.

Ray. In *Spain* there is a river which flows only during six hours every day. And there is there a river which for six years<sup>41</sup> is completely dry, and in the seventh sends down much water. There is there a river which does not carry down water, but dry sand, which comes down with much force and is impassible in a ship or on foot. On the Sabbath day its flowing is withheld.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Yāqūt, l., 500, 2.

<sup>39</sup> Yāqūt, l., p., 513, 5.

<sup>40</sup> In the *Adscensus Montis* he says this of the Πόντος; but see *Mittheilungen*, etc., p. 35, note 5.

<sup>41</sup> The text has Š'nIn; but we must read Š'nIn, hours. Cf. *Mittheilungen*, etc., p. 12, 19.

<sup>42</sup> In addition to *Mittheilungen*, etc., p. 38, note 5, cf. Josephus, *B.J.*, vii., 5, § 1. Guy le Strange, *Palastine under the Moslems*, p. 57.





















כָּרָז מַמְצָה. סַמְלָה כַּמְלָה לַחֲמָה וְעַלְמָה חֲמָה. אַמְלָה וְעַלְמָה וְעַלְמָה.  
לֹא וְעַלְמָה וְעַלְמָה לֹא וְעַלְמָה.

אֲחֵה. מַמְצָה מַמְצָה מַמְצָה. וְעַלְמָה מַמְצָה מַמְצָה מַמְצָה. וְעַלְמָה מַמְצָה.  
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אֲחֵה מַמְצָה מַמְצָה מַמְצָה. וְעַלְמָה מַמְצָה מַמְצָה מַמְצָה. וְעַלְמָה מַמְצָה.  
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מַמְצָה וְעַלְמָה<sup>10P</sup>

וְעַלְמָה<sup>10P</sup>

וְעַלְמָה<sup>10B</sup>

וְעַלְמָה וְעַלְמָה<sup>10P</sup>

וְעַלְמָה<sup>10O</sup>

וְעַלְמָה<sup>10O</sup>

וְעַלְמָה<sup>10OP</sup>

וְעַלְמָה<sup>10B</sup>

וְעַלְמָה<sup>10O</sup>

מַמְצָה<sup>10OP</sup>

# NOTES ON THE PUBLICATIONS CONTAINED IN VOL. II. OF EBERHARD SCHRADER'S KEILINSCHRIFTLICHE BIBLIOTHEK.—I. THE INSCRIPTIONS OF SENNACHERIB.\*

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The notes in this number of *HEBRAICA*<sup>1</sup> will be confined to Dr. Bezold's transliteration and translation of the Sennacherib Inscriptions. I will, by no means, lay stress on minor points, such as, e. g., Col. I. 3, of the *Taylor-Cylinder* where *migir ilāni rabūti* should rather be read *miḫir ilāni rabuti* from *aḫaru* to be precious (see Maspéro's *Recueil des travaux*, II. 82); there are many graver mistakes and blunders, which ought to be corrected. We will begin with the so-called *Taylor-Cylinder*, published in I R. 37-42.

## COL. I.

5. *epeš usāti*, Bezold (following Hoerning's rather antiquated rendering) translates, (Sennacherib) *who restores order*, while in reality it means *he who renders support, help*, cf. LT., p. 142, rm. 2,<sup>2</sup> II R. 39, 44-5; ZA. IV. 11, 15, where

\* Transliterated and translated by Dr. Carl Bezold (pp. 80-119).

<sup>1</sup> A review of the first eighty pages will be found in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society* for May, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> To save space I have employed the following abbreviations, which will also be used in the *Assyrian-English Lexicon*, on which we are at present engaged.

DR. = Delitzsch, *The Hebrew Language* (London, '83).

DK. = " *Die Sprache der Kassiter* (Leipzig, '84).

DX. = " *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig, '81).

DR. = " *Prolegomena* (Leipzig, '86).

DS. = " *Assyrische Studien*, I. (Leipzig, '74).

HS. = Haupt, *Das Babyl. Nymrod-Epos* (Leipzig, '84).

HT. = " *ASKT*.

LS. = Lyon, *Sargon-texte* (Leipzig, '83).

LT. = Lutz, *Tiglath-Pileser I.* (Leipzig, '80).

Zs. = Zimmern, *Babyl. Busspsalmen* (Leipzig, '85).

I R. etc. = *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vols. I-V., prepared for publication by H. C. Rawlinson (London, 1881sq.). See my *Rawlinson Bibliography* in *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circ.*, No. 72, (April, '89), p. 60sq. I R. 37, 40 = I Rawlinson, plate 37, line 40.

BAS. = Delitzsch's and Haupt's *Beiträge*, I, (Leipzig, '89).

Guy. = Guyard's *Notes de lexicographie assyrienne*.

KAT. = *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (Eberhard Schrader. Giessen, '83).

KB. I. and KB. II. = I. and II. Volume of Eberhard Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*.

PSBA. and TSBA. = *Proceedings, or Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (London).

ZA. and ZK. = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Vols. I.-V. 1888sq.) and *Keilschrift-forschung* (Vols. I. and II., 1884 and 1885).

ZDMG. = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig).

Aarb. = Asurbanipal; Asrn. = Asurnasirpal; Esarb. = Esarhaddon; Nebuchadn. = Nebuchadnezzar (I R. 53sq.); Senn. = Sennacherib; Tigl. Ptl. = Tiglath-Pileser (I R. 9-16).

ana epeš usât dumki is correctly rendered by *to give gracious help*; ib., p. 14, 18 illika usâtuka *he came to thy assistance*; the noun usâtu is derived from asû (Hebr. אָסַף) *to support, to help*; cf. u-su-u III R. 70, 74; whence asû *physician*, IV R. 32, 34; ZK. II. 4 and ZA. IV. 437; asîtu and isîtu *pillar, column, properly support, prop.*

5b stands in parallelism with 5a; Bezold reads alik tappût aki and translates *who walks at the side of the law* (fortunately adding a query). Hoerning read alik maḥar na-a-ki-i *who walks at the head of the sacrificers*; also see LT., p. 171; Ls., p. 68, below, corrected the text and read alik tappu-ut a-ki-i, translating it by *he who comes to help the weak*; Latrille, ZK. II. 341, approached another step nearer to the true reading, connecting a-ki-i with akû; while J. Oppert in ZA. II. 329 has alik tab-bu-ut aki *qui va les sentiers de ta rémunération*; cf. also *Proceedings of the Berlin Academy*, 1888, p. 756 (C. Bezold). The reading and translation akû (not akû!) *weak* is the most natural; but neither tappût nor tabbût nor dabbût is correct; the noun is by all Assyriologists derived from the Akkadian tab *two*, whence Assyrian tappu *companion, partner*.<sup>3</sup> I believe that tappût (with 𐎶) is the correct reading for our passage; tappût stands for taṭpût from a verb taṭapu = Hebr. חָטַף *to surround, to encircle for protection*;<sup>4</sup> alik tappût aki is *he who goes to surround for protection the weak*; alik tappût occurs as syn. of nararu *to assist* and rêḡu *to help*, in II R. 39, 3-6.

6. saḥîru damkâti *who undertakes what brings luck to him* (Der Glück-verheissendes unternimmt, Bezold); but translate *a frequenter of sanctuaries, a regular church-goer*, from saḥaru *to turn to, to frequent*, cf. ZK. II. 302; damkâti plural of damiktu, are *sanctuaries, properly places of grace, (ašrâti) damkâti*.

8. Ad la'iṭ cf. I R. 7, No. 9b, ina multate'a inašepe'a nešu ezzu; Asm. I. 19 mula'iṭ ekḡuti, translated by Lhotzky and Peiser *burning the proud, rebellious*, following Ls., p. 62 ad l. 22; also see I R. 27. 13a; liṭu *hostage*.

9. mu-šab-ri-ku za-ma-a-ni, *who crushes the enemies* (Bezold), but mušabriku does not mean *crushing*,<sup>5</sup> but *he who hurls his thunderbolts against his enemies*.<sup>6</sup>

12. elî gimir a-šib pa-rak-ki u-šar-ba-a (igu) kakkê'a *und hat grösser als aller (andern) Bewohner eines Throngemaches meine Waffen gemacht*. (Bez.); translate *over all the priest kings gave he me the victory*; parakku is of course to be derived from the Assyrian verb paraku *to set aside, to separate, to dedicate*, by no means borrowed from an Akkadian noun; we have thus in Assyrian the same as in Greek τέμενος from τέμνειν, Latin templum for tempusculum from the same root tem; parakku is the sanctissimum, ZA. II. 182-4; IV R. 61,

<sup>3</sup> Ht. 66, 1sq.; V R. 37, 30 and 32, 61; 39, 36 we have tappatu followed by girritu. Hebr. צָרָה (Lagarde, *Götting. Gel. Anz. Nachrichten*, '82, 393-403; II R. 33, 76 ed.).

<sup>4</sup> Dh. 20, 2 cf. מַחֲפִיזִים Ex. XIII. 18; Deut. VI. 8 and XI. 18; Dh. 46; Nöldeke in ZDMG. 40, 723 line 6 and note 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Crushing* would be mu-šap-ri-ku from פָּרַק, cf. pariḡtu *violence*, Esarh. II. 47; Del. in LT. 185; also see ZA. II. 354sq. where our passage is translated, *he who does violence to his enemies*.

<sup>6</sup> ZA. II. 216sq.; also ZA. IV. 108, 25 where we read mu-uš-ta-ab-ri-ku ta'a-ri-la; ad zamanu *enemy* = nakru, cf. e.g., V R. 64, 37b; ZK. II. 250, 87 and IV R. 46, 14, b, where we have to read za-ma (not ba!) -nu limnu *a wicked enemy*.

42a; cf. ašar parakki II R. 28, 44a, and ašib parakki II R. 35, 51-2; V R. 35, 28; ZA. v. 59, 7.

15b and II 44 *er hat unter meine Fuesse unterworfen* are by no means specimens of classical German; it ought to be either *Assur hat meinen Fuesen unterworfen*, or *Assur hat unter meine Fuesse geworfen*.

16. malke šibçuti stolze(?) Herrscher, proud(?) rulers (Bezold). I do not think that there can be much doubt as to the meaning of šibçu or rather šipçu.<sup>7</sup>

17. dadmešunu izzibu is a Hâl sentence, a fact overlooked by the translator. Kima su-din-ni (iççuru) ni-gi-iç-çi ediš ipparšu ašar la'-a-ri like the *Sudinni-birds they fled lonely into the clefts to an inaccessible place*; sudinnu is explained by Pinches in *PSBA.* 7, Feb. '82, p. 56 as *falcon*, see also *TSBA.* VII. 86; the proper translation of this passage is, *like a falcon, the bird (living) in the clefts they fled at once (!) to an inaccessible place*.

The etymology of nigicçu has not yet been found; it evidently is derived from gaçaçu = kaçaçu to *cut off*, to *separate*; nigicçe are the *clefts*;<sup>8</sup> nigicçu is a form like ni-çu-(šunu) *excrement* Senn. VI. 21, from a stem נִי־אָצֻ; nindanu II R. 7, 27-7 cf. *BAS.* I. 163, above; *ZDMG.* 43, 199; nangigu II R. 20, 31 d; nakrutu = ri-e-mu (רִמּוּ) V R. 21, 63ab, cf. ukarri *I was troubled*, from כָּרַה, thus properly *trouble, sympathy for some one, then grace*; nargitu a *boyl*, II R. 29, 76d; V R. 28, 12. I will not mention našaddu, *favorite, beloved*, because it is explained as a Niph'al-formation, *ZA.* II. 111 and 116, rm. 1; *ZDMG.* 43, 200, No. 9; DP. 97; nor nanniru *enlightener* (Asrb., Smith 126, 78) and nannaru Asrb. v. 37-8 which Jensen *ZDMG.* 43, 499, No. 7, explains as standing for nanmiru and nanmaru with progressive assimilation; also *BAS.* I. 166, No. 7; *KB.* II. 252.

19. ad ina mahrie girre'a in the first of my campaigns, not in my first campaign (as Bez.) see *ZA.* II. 268 rm. 4.

22. I should really like to know where Bezold has found the phonetic reading ki-ras-su for karašu *encampment*; kiras is the ideogram for karašu.<sup>9</sup>

24. (içu) çu-um-bi really means *freight-wagons*, notwithstanding the query of Bezold, cf. *ZB.* 81-2; it stands for çubbu, Hebr. צִבּוּ, see *Dn.* 20, 12; Asrb. VI. 23 mentions (içu) ša ša-da-di (içu) çu-um-bi *KB.* II. 205) and x. 85 ina (içu) çu-um-bi (MEŠ) (*KB.* II. 233). The last ideogram in l. 24 is not to be read parê, but šuhhupate or šuhupate = *mulae* (Sb. 44; II R. 4, 677, Arab. big'al) from the Akkadian šugub, while parû = *mulus*; cf. P. Haupt in *Andover Rev.*, July, '84, p. 97.

<sup>7</sup> *Ht.* 26, 541 ša-pa(l)-çu; šapçu *proud, mighty*, occurs in Tiglath-Pileser I. 68 and 89, III. 88 and V. 85 as an equivalent of la magire; also see *ibid.*, II. 69 and VIII. 32; V R. 23, 14 ef. and 40 gh.; ina šipçi occurs in *Asrb.* II. 106 (cf. *KB.* I. 88-9).

<sup>8</sup> *Zs.* 54-5; Guy. 1118; in *Ht.* 31, 714 = V R. 21, 11b it is preceded by hurru (from hararu, to be narrow; Senn. III. 75 hur-ri not ha-ri as Bezold reads), and followed by nigicçu kak-kari. The plural is either nigicçati, II R. 19, 49-50b; or nigicçe; *Ht.* 92-3, II. 39-40 nigicçi bitl, the חֲבִילֵי 'חֲבִיל' (Ps. CXXVIII. 3); gicçu *clefts*, we find in *Ht.* 24, 9; II R. 45 (No. 2) 5, and cf. *ZK.* II. 6, rm. 1; Senn. IV. 54 mentions the city of Bit-gicçi; Asrb. VIII. 88sq. we read: *the soldiers marched birit içe rabuti (through immense forests), gi-iç-çe (through clefts)*; Del. in *ZK.* II. 94sq. translated *through thorns* (?) and Jensen *KB.* II. 220-1 reads (kanû) iççi, *through iççu read*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ht.* 31, 711; Del. *Schrifttafel.* No. 81 and 173; *Dk.* 9, rm. 4; Guy. 1496 (begin.); II R. 65, Col. I. 20; III R. 13, 11b; Senn. III. 71, v. 23 and 29.

29. Read ša-šu (Hebr. שֶׁשׁ) instead of bušu and compare my notes in *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, May, '90; *B.A.S.* I. 12, rm. 2; 160, rm. 1 and 314 rm. 1; instead of makkuru (Bezold *treasures* (?)) *B.A.S.* I. 12, rm. 2, etc., reads makkuru but makkuru also occurs; cf. *ibid* 160; makkuru is to be derived from מָכַר to buy, whence also dam-ka-ru or rather tam-ka-ru a *field-laborer*, a *slave*, properly *one that is bought*; the usual derivation from an Akkadian DAM-GAR does not hold good.—ad zinnišāti libbi ekallišu see *PSBA.* (8 Nov., '81) p. 12; *KAT* 300 and 304.

30. (ameluti) rab-kussi(?) amelu) man-za-az pa-ni the *chamberlains*(?) the *body servants*(?); so Bezold. Zb. 46, rm. 2, shows that we have to read (ameluti) mutire the *vassals*; cf. IV R. 44, 46 and 61a; 62, 50a, also mu-tir II R. 51, 31b; *ZK.* II. 321; the mu-tir pāti are mentioned in II R. 31, 66ab, *B.A.S.* I. 203, 9; see also Senn. III. 72 where Bezold (following Sayce) reads itti (ameluti) kur-bu-ti šepi'ia, while the true reading is itti (ameluti) mutir pāti šepe'ia properly: *with those who hinder the access to my feet* (i. e., to me). The manzaz pani are not different persons from the mutire, as Bezold thinks, but are the same; manzaz pani stands in apposition to mutire and means the *highest magnates*, properly *those holding the seat before me*, a collective expression like the Arabic Diwān. After the mutire are mentioned, according to Bezold, the (ameluti) LUL and the (zinnišati) LUL, the *male and the female servants* (? *musicians* ?); our translator simply follows Hoerning; see also Col. III. 38-9. The ideograms have to be read nāre u narāti, the *young men and women*.<sup>10</sup>

31. The siḫirti ummanišu are *all his tradesmen, all the artisans*, not *all his troops*, which would be siḫirti ummanâtešu; notice also siḫirti gen. for constr. state (siḫrat).

32. muttabbilut ekalluš ušēçamma, and *I led away*(!) the *portable things of his palace* (Bezold); but that would be unutu muttabilti ekallatišu, as we have in Asrb. VI. 19; Jensen *KB.* II. 205 *Geraeth, das in seinen Palaesten gebraucht wurde*. How can we reconcile Bezold's translation with such passages as Tigl. Pil. Col. I. 15 ilani rabūti mu-ut-ta-bi-lu-ut šamê u erçiti the *great gods, the guardians of heaven and earth* (*KB.* I. 16, 17); also IV R. 14 (No. 3) 8; *ZA.* I. 403; the line evidently means: *I led away the guardians of his palace*.

37. The Ur-bi are discussed by Dy. 305; also see II R. 39, 48 gh.; Asrb. III. 65 and *KB.* II. 292.

47. Translate *all these* (previously mentioned) *Aramean tribes, rebellious ones, I conquered at once* (mithariš, not in open battle); mithariš is a syn. of išteniš, cf. *Rev. d'Assyriologie* II. 13, 14.

61. *Ten quarts of wine* (10 *Maass Wein*) is Bezold's translation of *X imeri* (içu) karani; but imeru is not a quart, but a חֶמֶר, properly *a donkey's load*; see *LT.* 149; Zb. 6, rm. 2; *ZA.* I. 89, 90; IV. 371 sqq.

Bezold, more than the other contributors, uses a great many unnecessary queries, which could easily have been avoided by a careful study of other

<sup>10</sup> It would do the compiler of the convenient *Babylontisch-Assyrische Literatur* no harm to read K. 2051, registered on pp. 206 and 284 of his book; nor would it hurt the editor of *ZA.* to read Everts' remarks in *ZA.* III. 328 or the notes in *ZA.* II. 413.



texts; thus *rīmaniš attagiš* (*nagašu*) l. 69 really means *I scaled like a wild bull*.<sup>11</sup>

76. We read *I destroyed with fire* E-EDINA *kul-ta-ri*, *mušabešunu*; Bezold translates *their huts (and(?) tents, their dwelling-places)*; but explain: *I destroyed with fire the* E-EDINA (the Akkadian for the Assyrian) *kultari, their dwelling-places*; *kultaru* being but the Assyrian translation of the Akkadian E-EDINA (properly *bit-ğiri*); see also *KB*. II. 216 ad *Asrb*. VIII. 121 where Jensen has the correct rendering.—*tiğalliš ušeme* means *I made like, I reduced to flames*.

## COL. II.

7. *pân niriia utirma* Bezold: *I turned my yoke*; Col. IV. 78, he simply gives, *I turned around*, also see IV. 2; translate, *I turned the face of my team*.

37. *King Elulaeus ana ru-uk-ki (rûki) kabal tamtim innabitma ma-ti-šu emid*, he fled far away into the sea and I took away his country; but I R. 43, 13 shows that we must read *šadda-šu emid* and translate: *he fled to a distant place in the zone of the sea and there took up his abode*; it is equivalent to *ehuz markita* (Senn. Sm. 67, 18); ad *šadda*: *where, whereabouts*, see *HN*. 9 Col. III, 3; 11, 1 etc., also IV R. 52; it a syn. of *šiddu*, cf. *ZA*. IV. 8, 41; 10, 49. The foot-note on p. 91 ad Col. II. 47 is not correct. *ša Minḫimmu* begins a new sentence and has to be rendered, *as regards Menahem*, etc.

64 and III. 28 Bezold reads *nadan bilti kit(?)ri-e belutiia emid-suma išât abšâni*, *the giving of my tribute of the submission to my lordship I put upon him and he became subject to me(?)*; in Col. III. 28 *mandattu kitrie belutiia* is rendered *the tribute due to my lordship*; read *kad-ri-e*, a derivative noun of *kadru*, *present, gift*; and translate, *the giving of tribute, a present to my lordship, I fixed upon him and he now bears(?) my yoke*.

72. *ana AN ġil-li esiršu*, so Bezold, adding in a foot-note, that Haupt's emendation of *AN-ġil-li* to *BAR-ĠILLI* is thus done away with forever. Bezold is by no means the first to have noticed this; it has been corrected, among others, by Del. *Lesestuecke*<sup>8</sup> XVI.; he makes, however, the additional mistake in considering *AN* an ideogram, while it is simply the constr. state of *ānu* enclosure, etc.<sup>12</sup>

77. *ellamû'a si-id-ru šitkunu uša'lu (içu) kakkešunu*, Bezold, *their battle array stood against me and they lifted up their weapons*. The correct rendering is: *they arranged their battle-array, appealing to their weapons*; cf. Col. V. 49, where Bezold—having P. Haupt's translation (*Andover Rev.*, '86) before him—translates the same phrase by *they let their weapons decide*.

I do not see why in a book like this library of cuneiform texts, published chiefly for the use of the "beginner and layman," *bal-ṭu-su-un* Col. II. 81

<sup>11</sup> *rīmaniš* a form like *huršaniš*, *abubaniš*, *Sanṭaniš* from *rīmu* *wild bull*, Hebrew *DN* or better *DN*, so first Houghton in *TSBA*. v. ('77) 326sq.; *DN*. 6, 7; *DP*. 15-17 and 23; *ZDMG*. 40, 742, 6; it is a syn. of *arḫu* (properly *the swift one*), *lā* (*the strong*) and *pūru*, *Ht*. 186; II R. 38, 10sq., *nagašu ša alpi* (*to climb like a bull*); = *nagašu ša rimi*; s *nagašu ša ameli*; *iğguš* = *ilīk*, *he went*, Del. *Lesestuecke*, 142a.

<sup>12</sup> Compare *an-bartum* II R. 47, 15c; an *duraru* *Khors*. 187 = an *dunanu* V R. 50, 58b, etc.; also *ZA*. IV. 10, 38 and Bezold in *Berl. Acad. Proc.* ('88) 756 rm. 3.

(literally in their condition of being alive, for *baṭut-šun*) should not be translated at all, but rendered in Col. IV. 35.

## COL. III.

6. Read *la ba-ne* (not *ba-bil*) *hi-te-ti u kul-lul-ti*, who had not committed sin and mischief; *ba-ne* is the constr. state of the ptc. *banû*; the singular being used for the plural as is often the case in such construct connections. *hiṭtu* and *hiṭetu*, by the way, in royal inscriptions, always mean *rebellion*, this being the sin *kar' iṣoxru* against the king.

15. *ina šukbus aramme u kitrub šu-pi-i*. Bezold does not translate *arammu* and *šupû*. *arammu*, from *urim I built*, means *ramparts, walls*, thus we translate *by casting down, destroying the ramparts and by the attack of the šupî*, the latter being *a machine for besieging a city*; cf. *KB.* II, pp. 13, l. 16, etc.

16. *ina mit-hu-ḡu zu-uk šepâ* (Bezold *the hostile onslaught of... (?) u pilši niksi u kal-ban-na-ti*<sup>17</sup>) *almi, akšud*, etc. Bezold does not attempt to translate 16b. The line is very difficult. It says, *I surrounded so and so many cities ina mithuḡu zu-uk šepâ: with the attack (ZK. II. 281, 2) of my zuk šepâ; III R. 9 (No. 2) 7 has mit-hu-uḡ zu-u-ku šepâ*, see *KB.* II. 26, 7; Delitzsch's explanation of this expression as = *zuk šepâ: by the storm of their feet in Lesezt.*<sup>3</sup> XVI. is impossible. In the annals of Sargon, l. 49, we read of 300 (*amelu*) *zu-uk šepâ*; *ibid.* l. 124 we hear of the (*amelu*) *zu-uk šepâia li' my valiant zuk šepâ*. I believe with Winckler (*Sargon-texts*, p. 208) that it denotes a special kind of troops and consider *zuk* as the constr. state of *zukkû*, the Perm. Piel of *zakû to be set apart, to be selected*; they were the *select, best foot-soldiers*. *zu-ki* in connection with *narkabtu* is mentioned in the synchronous history, II R. 65, 8 (*KB.* I. 198) *Nabukudur-uḡurma narkabtu u zu-ki ana i-di birti ša (mat) Aššur ana kašadi illika*; Winckler and Peiser translate it by "*Leicht bewaffnete*," *light-armed soldiers*. The same word occurs in *Asrn.* III. 58, 60 and 63 (*KB.* I. 104-5), also in S. A. Smith's texts III. 47, l. 6, *amelu zu-ku ša ekalli*. Thus the (*amelu*) *zuk šepâ* were probably the same as the Latin *evocati*, and are equivalent to the *ḡâbe taḡazi'a gitmaluti* of *Senn.* IV. 9.

And now the king continues to describe how these warriors took the cities; above all (*ina*) *pil-ši*, *by breaches*, cutting through the walls which surrounded the cities;<sup>18</sup> then *ina niksi by slaughter*, from the well known verb *nakasu to cut down, to slaughter*, *u ina kal-ban-na-ti* which seems to be a syn. of *kallabâti axes*, and a formation like *dalabanâti*, *Nebuchadn.* III. 52, from *dalabu*, syn. of *rapadu* and *šababu*, *to enclose, to surround*.

20. *The king Hezekiah I shut up in Jerusalem like an iḡḡuri ku-up-pi* (Bezold, *Kaefigvogel*), *like a caged bird*, he meant to say; this is the only passage

<sup>17</sup> *Pilšu*, a breach, a fissure V R. 36, 24sq. from *palašu to break through*, *Syr.* ܫܠܫܐ, V R. 36, 23sq. It is a syn. of *šuplu*, hole, V R. 36, 25; II R. 22, 68 ab; *ZK.* II. 175, rm. 2; *Asrn.* III. 58—not II. 53 as *Del. Lesezt.*<sup>3</sup> XVI. has it—and III. 111; *Salm. Balawat*, Col. V. 1 *kima šelibi ina pilši uḡi like a fox in (his) hole he went off (KB. I. 136)*; Delitzsch and Peiser do not translate it; *Lyon, Manual*, p. 103, reads *pilšu* and says *some instrument or method of attack*; *aplûš, I mutilated*, *Asrb.* IX. 106; cf. also *KB.* II. 229 and *Senn.* V. 68 (*niše*) *pagrešunu upalliša clearing my way with difficulty through the corpses*, a passage left untranslated by Bezold.

in the historical inscriptions where the word occurs. It is the permansive of the Pr<sup>el</sup> of קוּר, with a passive meaning, like kuššudu (KA 7<sup>2</sup> 209, rm. 4), etc.<sup>14</sup>

21-3. The ḥalḡani, here, are not so much the fortresses, as the approaches. —ma aḡie abulli maḥazišu utirra ik-ki-pu-uš, Bezold renders this and those who came out of the gates of his city, I made them return again. I believe this to be an entirely wrong translation and render it thus: and whosoever —(driven by hunger and famine)—came out of the gates of the city, I increased his sufferings, made him suffer still more.<sup>15</sup>

31. Translate the Urbi and his other faithful warriors, instead of the Urbi and his brave(?) warriors.

33. iršū belāti they surrendered their arms(?), so Bezold; translate they allowed terror to take hold of them; ad beltu fright, terror, see DP. 32, Hebr. בָּהַל, Aram. בָּהַל to be confounded, frightened.

35. The gu-uḥ-lu stone is mentioned in V R. 32, 27c and Zb. 45, DP. 132 have some notes on it.

36. The kussū nimeḍu is a portable chair, from עֶמֶד, so already Norris in his dictionary; according to ZA. III. 327 it is simply an epitheton ornans of kussū, see Senn. III. 76 and IV. 8 where kussū and kussū nimeḍu are used promiscuously. In our passage Bezold translates a throne chair; IV. 8 simply a throne and on p. 115 (I R. 7, No. VIII. 2) an elevated, high throne!

37. ušu or ešu wood; the editor of ZA. might have referred at least to ZA. III. 328 and IV. 108, rm. 3, etc.; while the urkarenu wood—left also untranslated by all the contributors to KB. I. and II.—is the Syr. אֶשְׁקָרָא box wood (cf. irtanu for ištānu V R. 31, 40); Tigl. Pil. Col. VII 17; Ls. p. 84; Americ. Journ. of Philology, VIII. 279; Ball in PSBA ('89) 143-4; II R. 45, 47, etc.

47. There is no need to query messenger as translation of rakbu, if one knows II R. 39 (No. 5) 47 gh where ra-kab(!) occurs as a syn. of mār šipri; also see Arb. II. 100; ZA. III. 312, 58; Winckler, Sargon-texte, p. 226, s. v. rakbu.

48-49. kima aḡari ediš ipparšidma ul innamir ašaršu, Bezold he fled lonely like an... nobody saw whither; but innamir is a Niph'al and the whole line is to be rendered like a bird—aḡari a byform of iḡuri—he fled at once, and his trace was seen no more. This is followed by pān niria utirma and translated by Bezold, that fellow I had (now) subdued!! while its meaning is the same as in Col. II. 7-8, IV. 78, etc., I turned the face of my team, I returned.

<sup>14</sup> See Sb. 132 where we read SA-PA-RA (strangely alike saparu net) = ku-up iḡuri a bird cage; also ZA. III. 132 (No. 5) l. 2 iḡu ku-up-pi and panāt ku-up-pi.

<sup>15</sup> u-tir-ra stands for ut-tir-ra cf. uttir Tigl. Pil. Col. VI. 35 and 104 (= Heb. וְתִיר, Arab. وَتَر) I increased; ikkibuš (so and not ikkipuš!). Var.-šu, means his suffering; ikkibu stands for ik'ibu from יָכַב; const. state ikkib e. g., IV R. 10, 33, 46; Hr. 119, 6; is a syn. of maruštu; cf. also II R. 60, 13e ik-ki-bu-u-a(!) my lamentation, my suffering; ZA. IV. 240, 11 ikkib ilani; KAT. 72; Zb. 67; ZA. III. 236 sq.; in ZA. II. 326, rm. 1. Pinches, following Jensen (ZA. I. 12 sq.) derives it from the Akkadian EN-GIB; but Jensen, ZDMG. 43, 202, corrects his former statement and says ikkibu stands for pikkibu and this for mikkibu cf. Hebr. יָכַב; so also are formed, according to Jensen the nouns ikrebu, prayer; immeru, lamb; iptenu meal; and ipṭeru, manumission.

53. Translate *the war cry of my powerful soldiers*, and 55 sqq. render *he gathered the (statues of the) gods, ruling his country* (cf. DP. 195) *into their shrine* (i. e., šubtešunu Guy. § 38), *embarked them and fled like a bird to the city Nagitu in the swamps, at the border of the sea.* DY. 324.

60. Bezold omits to render u-tir-ma *I returned*, etc.

62. There can be no doubt as to the reading na-mur-ra-tum; it is a well known word, meaning *fury*; from namaru *to be furious, ferocious*, cf. Syr. ithnamer *to be furious*, nimru *panther*, etc. Guy. § 103, p. 95; ZA. II. 116, rm. 2; HEBRAICA, III. 227; namurratka ezziti ZA. IV. 8, 46; also see DP. 184;<sup>16</sup> Col. III. 71-IV. 7 is a parenthesis, IV. 8 is closely connected with III. 70.

72. Read itti (ameluti) mutir pūti šepeia (II R. 31, 66b) na-aç-ku-ti; see PSBA. I. (April, '84), p. 151; ZK. II. 243; çâbe tahazia la gamiluti are not *my undestructable army* but *my unrelenting warriors (who give no pardon)*; anaku kima rîmi eḳdi pa-nu-uš-šu-un aḳbat means *I, myself, like a strong wild ox took their lead*, i. e., *of the soldiers*, not *but ich wie ein Wild ochse ihnen (den Feinden) die Stirn*.

75. Translate *clefts, ravines, dangerous torrents at the slope of the mountains I crossed in a chair* (aš-tam-diḥ for aštaddiḥ cf. Senn., Smith 104, 31 šunu ana Urukḥ uštamdiḥ); ad mi-li-è see KAT<sup>2</sup> 565; Syr. meli'a *flood*.

78sq. ašar birkâ manaḥtu iškâ çir aban šadi ušibma translate, *wherever my knees had a resting place*, i. e., *wherever I could walk*.

80. me sunâdi kaḳuti ana çummiā lu ašti, Bezold and others, *the water of the cold mountain springs I drank for my thirst*. I suppose it never occurred to them that such was no hardship, but rather a most refreshing drink in an eastern country; the passage really means *and even turbid, warm water I drank for my thirst*. I was satisfied even with such a miserable drinking water; cf. Jeremias, *Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 96, rm. 4; J. Halévy in ZA. II. 437 sq.

#### COL. IV.

9-10. Translate *my veterans accomplished under great difficulties* (šunuḥiḥ) *the entrance into the steep, narrow passes*; cf. Heb. בְּקָעָה valley, Syr. بَقْعَا, Arab. buḳ'atun from a root بَكَعَ *to split*, they were *passes full of seams and fissures*; ad l. 12, see II R. 32, 9; Ds. 73; Num. 23, 10.

30. multaḥṭu, not translated by Bezold, is *a low rebel*; cf. I R. 27, 13a; see, however, Jensen ad Asrb. IV. 63 (KB. II. 191, rm.).

36. ina ešiti mâti Bezold—after Winckler—translates *through the occupation of the country*, but ešitu means *disorder, anarchy*. See DK. 5, 6; Guy. § 79. ZK. II. 83, Tiele translates, Šuzub, *who had taken advantage of the disorder and anarchy of the country to usurp the dominion of Sumir and Akkad*.<sup>17</sup> Also HEBRAICA, II. 218.

<sup>16</sup> An entirely different stem is namaru *to be clear, to be pure*, which may be an old Niph'al formation of 'amaru.

<sup>17</sup> ešû, whence ešitu, is usually connected with Arab. غَشَى *to cover*; but better connect it with the Hebr. עָשָׂה *to make, to do*; ešû = *to un-do, to disturb*.

39. šummanu, cf. also Col. V. 74, *fetters*, from šamû to *enclose*, according to Delitzsch; a form like ramânu—40. ad ša ida-šu isḫuru = kâta iḡbat = *he helped*, see Zb. 25.

42 (beg.). Read ellâti-šu (not elilâti(?)šu) *his forces*, from alalu to *be strong*, whence also allu, *illu strong*; usappiḫma properly *I spread, I scattered*, KAT<sup>3</sup> 169, Ls. 62 and 59; uparrir puḫuršu does not mean *I destroyed him completely*, but *I broke down his army*.

48. (ameluti) ḡābe šu-lu-ti-ia, not translated by Bezold, are *the warriors of my royal kingship*.<sup>18</sup>

52. Instead of Rib(?) te-su-la-ai read dannat-Sula'a, i. e., *Sula's fortress*; also see Col. V. 33.

56. (maḥazu) Di-in-tu ša Sula'a may be *the district of Sula'a*; cf. medinatun, properly *district*, from דִּין; 58. ad ak-ka-ba-ri-na; compare Hebr. עֶכְבֶּר *mouse*.

59. naditu adi maḥazani ša niribi, etc., is *the settlement* (from nadû to *settle, to locate*) *together with the cities at the entrance towards*. 62. ad maḥazu ša naḡidâti compare Hebr. נֶקֶד *shepherd*; and the alum ša tarbit (63) *is the city of the offsprings*.

ad 71. sitti maḥazani ana dannati ušerib, Bezold ought have remembered I R. 43, 40 sitti niše matišu ana dannati ušeli, cf. Senn., Smith, 112, 40.

75. Bezold's arḫu tam-ḡi-ri, left untranslated, should rather be arḫu tamṭeri (cf. mi-it-ru *rain* = מֵטֶר); it is the month Tebet, the *rainy month*; cf. the parallel account in I R. 43, 42. In this month set in a ku-uḡ-ḡu dannu (var. ku-uḡ-ḡu dan-nu ikšuduma); Bezold and others render it *severe, cold weather*; *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. XIII., p. xxxv, *med.* translates: *storm, tempest*. The best rendering is that of Jos. Halévy, *a great (unexpected) heat set in*; this weather brought about a heavy rainfall, šamutum ma-at-tum u-šaz-ni-na (*the heaven*) *poured down a mass of rain*; the parallel account in I R. 43, 43 reads ša-mu-tum la zi-iz-tum illikma (cf. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, I. 199 sq.; ZA. II. 434 sq.).

77. Read zunne ša zunne (var. mê ša zunnê) not zunnûti as Bezold has it, *rain upon rain poured down*; following this, Bezold and all Assyriologists, with the exception of DH. 15, rm. 2, read šalgu naḫli nadbak šaddi adura and translate: (*It poured down rain upon rain*) *and snow. I feared the torrents and mountain rivers*. But this is wrong. DH. 15 reads raggu (instead of šalgu) and I believe correctly; rag-gu na-aḫ-li belong together, as the parallel account proves, where we find rag-gu na-ḫal-lum; the raggu naḫli nadbak šaddê *is the fury of the torrents coming down from the (Elamitic) mountain-slopes*; cf. KB. I. 190, 10 mid-bak šad-u; BAS. I. 8, 15, rm. 13, and 175-6; ZDMG. 40, 733, 6 sqq.; Hebr. נֶרֶךְ.

80. ina ki-bit must be of course ina ḡi-bit, from ḡibitu *command*, and this derived from ḡebû to *speak, to command*.

<sup>18</sup> šulutu from ša'alu to *decide, to rule*; cf. V R. 11, 11; Ht. 106, 11; Zb. 99.



## COL. V.

4. aḫi-šu dub-(?)bu-us-su cf. ZK. I. 319; ZA. I. 392. Jensen considers the Assyrian borrowed from the Akkadian, referring to II R. 29, 63 ab, where we read Dub-uš-sa = dubussû; cf. also ZA. IV. 111, 127-8. Read ṭuppuš-su (for ṭuppuš-šu) literally *τρυφός* = *pinguis, weak-minded*; Talm. ṭippêš, ad Ps. CXIX. 9, 70.

5. Translate *after Shuzub* (the Babylonian, mentioned in Col. IV. 35) *had been carried off*.<sup>19</sup>

6. Instead of mulluti limnuti read galle limnuti, *evil devils*;<sup>20</sup> they closed their abullani; so Bezold, but read abullate, abullu being of feminine gender; see, e. g., ZA. II. 127, 20 abullate-šu ša-ad-la-a-ti.

7. ik-bu-ut lib-ba-šu-nu ana epeš kamari(?) so Bezold; but read iḫ-pu-ud libbašunu ana epeš tukuntî, *their heart planned the making of an insurrection*; iḫpud preterite to ḫapadu: Hebr. קפר, to plan, cf., e. g., KB. II. 180 ad Asrb. III. 37; IQ LAL is not kamaru, as Bezold says, but tukuntu, *resistance, fight, insurrection*, see HT. 41, 154; Psalm CXXXIX. 21 where we have to read מִתְקוּמִי instead of "בָּתִּי", see Psalm XVII. 7.

8-9. Bezold: Šuzubu (amelu) Kal-da-ai ra(?)..(?)dun-na-mu-u ša la i-šu-u bir-ki la...(?)pa-an (amelu) piḫât (maḫazu) Lahiri (amelu) a-ra...ḫu mun-nab-tu a-mir da-me ḫab-bi-lu ḡi-ru-uš-šu ipḫuruma; *they gathered around Shuzub, the Chaldean, a..., who had no tree of genealogy (Stammbaum), and who had fled before the governor of Lahiri, a blood... (?) a villain*.—The correct reading of these lines is Šuzub (amelu) kaldâ<sup>21</sup> ḫab-lum<sup>22</sup> dunnamû,<sup>23</sup> ša la iṣû birki<sup>24</sup> ardu dagil<sup>25</sup> pân (amelu) piḫat (maḫazu) Lahiri a-ra-aḫ-ḫu,<sup>26</sup> mun-nabtu, amir dame<sup>27</sup> ḫab-bi-lu<sup>28</sup> ḡiruššu ipḫuruma, *around Shuzub, the Chaldean, the wicked, the base, who was a weakling, a vassal under the command of the governor of Lahiri, the fugitive, the deserter, the sanguinary villain they gathered*.

13. anaku ni-tum alme-šu-ma napšatuš usîka; some read ḡaltum, *fight*, but the parallel passage Senn. Bav. 44 reads ni-i-ti almema

<sup>19</sup> HEBRAICA, II. 218-20; Pinches in PSBA. 6 May, 1884. But see Del. Assyr. Gram., p. 306.

<sup>20</sup> IV R. 2, 15 and 30; 7, 2; 29, 12; ZK. I. 295; ZA. II. 302, rim. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Another person from the one mentioned in I. 5; cf. HEBRAICA, II. 218.

<sup>22</sup> The traces point to ḫab-[lum].

<sup>23</sup> Compare II R. 28, 68c; ZA. IV. 23 bel. where it is compared to ulûlu, *the abject*; ZA. IV. II, 20 ana mu-ur-ri pi-i-šu dun-na-mu-u i-ša-as-si-ka, *in the bitterness of his mouth the abject man speaks to thee*; it also occurs ZA. IV. 15, 16; cf. Arab. ذَمَّ to be vile, to be base.

<sup>24</sup> Bezold's translation is unquestionably wrong; P. Haupt in Andover Rev., May, '98, translates *who was a coward, the cowardly bastard*, combining dunnamû and ša la iṣû birki; but birku must have been to the Assyrian the seat of physical strength; V R. 65, 34b, we read of strong oxen ša la in-na-ḫu birka-šu-nu *whose knees do not get tired*; also see IV R. 2, 38-39a; IV R. 1, 39 ina birki ameli; thus ša la iṣû birki means *who had no physical strength, was a weakling*; tarbit birkia is the offspring, product of my strength, Senn. Col. III. 84 and 78.

<sup>25</sup> After birki traces can be seen of the ideogram for ardu (servant) and dagil (beholding), thus correct into ardu dagil pân: *the servant beholding the face of, i. e., the vassal*.

<sup>26</sup> araḫḫu an intensive form; cf. Talmudic araḫḫa, קָרַק to run away.

<sup>27</sup> amir dame: *blood-thirsty, properly full of blood*; amir = Hebr. מְרַקֵּר.

<sup>28</sup> See, e. g., Rearb. Cyl. A. II. 45.



(KB. II. 116 below); *I surrounded them with a hostile force*,<sup>29</sup> and *I threatened his life* (literally, *I made narrow*).<sup>30</sup> The three stem consonants of nitum are נִיט.

14. lapân hat-ti u ni-ib-ri-ti innabit, *he fled on account of terror and need* (?); so Bezold; but read ni-ip-re-ti = nipretu from parû, Hebr. פָּרַע to cut off, Ptâl uparri' Col. V. 77. See Zb. 93 and 104, rm. 1.<sup>31</sup>

15. Ki-i...çi-ru-uš-šu ba-ši-i cannot mean *Da aber ihm dort zu wider waren*, i. e., *As...they disgusted him* (Bezold), but as *they were behind him, followed him*—ri-kil-ti is not misfortune but vile infamy, Hebr. רָכִיל; instead of hab-la-tu can also be read kil-la-tu.

16. Is correctly translated by Bezold, having Professor Haupt's translation before him, but unfortunately Haupt did not add a transliteration, and this accounts for Bezold's reading i-ti-u-ma instead of the correct i-ḥi-šam-ma, from ḥāšu, iḥiḥ, *he hastened* (as Hoerning already has it).<sup>32</sup>

19. My corrected copy of I R. reads ip-tu(!)-ma *they* (i. e. the Babylonians) *opened*.

22. u-še-bi-lu-uš da'-tu, *they sent as a bribe* (queried by Bezold) is pretty certain; it is amusing to notice that only six lines below, the editor of ZA. translated the same word by *payment, wages*, without adding a query, evidently having, by this time, fully made up his mind about the meaning of da'tu. Jensen translates it by *gift, present* (KB. II. 186-7 ad Asrb. III. 13).<sup>33</sup>

23. Bezold writes correctly di-ka-a *assemble*, from a verb רָקַע, but Col. III. 43 he reads ad-ki with a כ instead of ק, see also Del. *Lesest.* 139 rm. 6. Jensen's remark on p. 206 of KB. II. is correct, if he reads diḫû instead of diḫû. There are two different verbs in Assyrian, dakû to *overthrow, to crush*, Hebr. דָּכָא, while to *collect, to crumble*, is daḫû or better deḫû (diḫû) Hebr. רָקַע cf. II R. 27, 17ab; Asrb. II. 129 and VIII. 71; Tigl. Pil., Col. V. 84, etc., ZA. II. 156, 17 id-ki-e.

30. e-šu-ra *he harnessed*, is perhaps connected with ma-ša-ru (*wheel*), see ad Col. V. 83, and compare the mašhurim of Ezekiel. Del., *Assyr. Gram.*, 2102, (p. 282) translates *he brought together*, from אָשַׁר to *collect*; also see Lr. 117, 12 ašušur = ašur = ešur; Zb. 39; ZA. II. 97, 16, whence eširtu temple and meširu members of the body, joints; BAS. I. 175.

38-9. Bezold reads sid(kid?)-ru ra-bu-u ik-ti-ra, *a great army* (?) *he collected*; Del. *Lesest.* 141, rm. 1, proposes çihru or kitru; but read kitru rabû iktera both, noun and verb, from the same כָּתַר which we met with in

<sup>29</sup> See V R. 10, 21 od; Senn. Sm. 24 ni-ti-iš il-ma'a tenû'a and p. 133 an-ni'-ma (Col. V. 66).

<sup>30</sup> See Asrb. II. 54 (KB. II. 188) and cf. sūku, properly *straits*; siku, siktū *narrow*; Hebr. יָצִיק, י for ס on account of ק.

<sup>31</sup> Nipretu stands for mipretu, this for mipra'tu and that for mapra'tu; it is a syn. of pi-rit-tum (from the same verb parû), haštu and šuttu = *want, oppression*; e. g., V R. 28, 33ab, see also KB. II. 190 and 192 ad Asrb. IV. 43 and 63, where also Jensen reads wrongly nibretu, but translates correctly *hunger*.

<sup>32</sup> See II R. 7, 10-11 gh.; 27, 10ab = ga-ra-ru to run; 29 Rev. 5-6 gh. = āru to go; Hebr. רוּשׁ or רוּשׁ in Psa. 71, 12 and 90, 10; see Guy. § 78; Dh. 62, 3; HEBRAICA, I., 173, 9; ZDMG. 40, 728, 4; also compare II R. 19, 45-46b, and IV R. 15, 59-61a.

<sup>33</sup> According to Delitzsch the three stem consonants are מָחַר; ZA. IV. 10, 42 we read mahir da'ti *he who takes a bribe*; also cf. Winckler, *Sargontexte*, XXII. rm. 3 and XXXV. ad p. 104, 39, ki da'-tu-u-ti id-din-šu.

Col. II. 75.<sup>34</sup> Bezold's sidru was perhaps prompted by sidirtu, of l. 48 which is the Hebr. שִׁדְרָ, an incorrect writing for סִדְרָ. Cf. also *Khors.* 127, ik te-ram-ma; Del. *Assyr. Gram.*, § 109 (p. 302) is wrong in connecting it with a verb קָרָה; Col. V. 48, see also Del. *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 242, rm.

39. Occurs an unpleasant mistake, which is not even mentioned in the 'addenda et corrigenda'; Bezold reads gibšušun ru-u-uh (matu) Akkadi iqbatunimma, instead of u-ru-uh, as I R. plainly has it.

42. ad ana aḥamiš see Pognon's *Bavian*, p. 8; and for in-nin-du from עִמְרָ, see IV R. 7. 54a; Del. *Lesest.*<sup>3</sup> 95, 10; *ZK.* II. 390; puḥuršunu in-nindu does not mean *they united themselves into one force* (sie vereinigten sich zu einer Gesamtheit) but *their forces were arranged for a battle*.

43-4. kima ti-bu-ut a-ri-bi ma'-di ša pa-an māt-ti mithariš ....tebūni, like a great swarm of locusts spreading over the country, they approached in a fighting mood (Bezold); but read ša pān šatti, at the beginning of the year, during spring-time (Haupt), and mithariš is = at once, a syn. of ištēniš. See note to Col. I. 47; how will Bezold's translation suit the context of Col. VI. 12, where he does not know how to translate it? L.c. speaks of the horses whose riders had been killed in the battle, ramanuššun ittanallaka mithariš utirra, which means *they ran by themselves hither and thither and I brought them at once together* (to one place, so that they might not run away or do more harm).

45sq. epir šepe-šunu kima zī kabti (cf. Col. II. 11, IV. 68 = imbare IV R. 19, 16a; 3, 27; Senn. *Bavian* 44, *KB.* II. 116, below. Del. *Lesest.*, *Schrifttafel*, No. 251; *Zb.* 94, ll. 12-13) ša dun-ni e-ri-ia-a-ti pān šame rapšuti katim, the dust of their feet was in front of me like a heavy storm-cloud, which covers the gray-colored (erz-farbene) space of the wide heavens; but eri-ia-a-ti is one word and l. 46 is to be rendered *which pregnant with mischief cover the face of the wide heavens*; dunnu = mischief; eriāti refers to eprēti (so read for zī kab-ti) and is fem. plur. of the participle erū heavy, pregnant; see Hosea XIV. 1 and Ps. VII. 15 עֲרִי וְהָרָה עֲמָלָהּ.

55. attalbiša si-ri-ia-am ḥu-li-ia-am simat ḡi-il-ti apira rašū'a (Bezold), but read attalbiša si-ri-ia AM (=rīmi) ḥu-li-ia AM (rīmi), etc., and translate *my cuirass, covered with the hide of a wild bull and my helmet covered with the same material*; ḥu-li-ia from ḥalalu 1) to excavate and 2) to be hollow.

60. (iḡu) tartahu is the javelin; my fist is laḡ-tu-u-a from laḡātu; cf. *Asrb.* II. 12 (*KB.* II. 166), etc.; Del. *Lesest.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 142; *ZA.* IV. 230, 10; Del. *Assyr. Gram.*, § 80, e.

61. nakire limnuti stands in apposition to gimir ummanāti, a fact not recognized by Bezold.

62. Offers one of the worst transliterations and translations. The correct text and translation is zar-biš u-mi-iš al-sa-a kima Rammān aš-gu-um oppressed I roared like a lion, like Rammān (the thunder-god) I raged. Bezold has it šarpiš ūmeš alsā, I advanced (against them) shining like silver

<sup>34</sup> Jensen (*KB.* II. 164 rm. ad *Asrb.* I. 127) reads correctly kitru; also see *Asrb.* III. 135 and *KB.* II. 195 rm. to *Asrb.* IV. 98.

and like the daylight. zarbiš ūmeš alsâ is one of the best known expressions in the Assyrian inscriptions and ought to be known to Bezold.<sup>35</sup>

63. ana šid-di u pu-ti does not mean *on front and flank*, but *on flank and front*; this seems at first an unnecessary remark, but as the book is intended principally for the use of such who cannot control the transliterations and translations, this transposition of front and flank must be misleading; the same applies to l. 82 sapinat raggi u ġēni *crushing foe and friend* (Bezold, *friend and foe*), if indeed ġēni means friend, good; and Col. VI. 52, where the Assyrian should be šede lamassi instead of lamassani šedani; for šiddu from šadadu, see V R. 20, 46 h.

64. kima tib meḥi šam-ri; the reading of šam is certain and needs no query; it has been settled long ago by Pognon in his *L'inscription de Bavian*, p. 75; Asrb. v. 95, we read agû šamru, *a wild flood* (KB. II. 200-1, and rm. 11); Tigl. Pil. Col. III. 57 where šam-riš occurs.

65. Read ina tukulti Ašur beli-ia.

66-7. Read suḥ-ḥur-ta-šunu aškun *I brought about their retreat, flight*; from saḥaru *to turn*; not guḥḥurtašunu.

68. Read u-ša-kir (not kir) *I made precious, scarce, I thinned their ranks*; Hr. 50, 9, Šaph'el of aḥaru *to be precious*; see Haupt in ZK. II. 269.—gimri (ameluti) pagrešunu u-pal-li-ša uziziš; Bezold leaves this line untranslated. Render *through the mass of their (the enemies) corpses I cleared my way* (upalliša, see note ad Col. III. 16) *as if splitting it open*; uziziš must come from a verb azazu (according to J. Oppert = zâzu) corresponding to Hebr. אָזַז, whence תָּזַז; others read tamziziš from mazazu.

71. tukultašu rabû stands in parallelism with ed-lum pitkudu and muma'ir ġâbešu, all three expressions referring to Humbanudaša and the suffix -šu to the king of Elam; adi (ameluti) rabutišu are his magnates.

72-3. Read ša paṭar šib-bi ḥuraḡi šitkunu u ina har-re (Asrb. II. 11; KB. II. 166) aḡ-pi instead of šimiri(?) as-pi, then continue ḥuraḡi ruk-ku-sa laḡ-te-šu-nu, which means; *whose girdle-dagger was embossed with gold* (= Asrb. II. 12; KB. II. 166-7) *and whose wrists were clasped* (rukkusa) *with double* (ašpi עֲצָפָה) *bracelets of massive gold*. DP. 69 reads ḥarre aspi ḥuraḡi; *Ringe, Machwerk aus Gold*, from חָרָה = עֵר; cf. Hebr. חֶסֶךְ.<sup>36</sup>

77. See also ZK. 282, rm. 3.

<sup>35</sup> zarbiš is derived from zarabu, cf. Sc. 307, Hr. 21, 399 and 43, 51 (zurub libb); II R. 28, 60 e; 34, 61 ab, etc.; Dh. 60, 56; Zb. 6 and 70; Hebr. זָרַב Job VI. 17; Syr. and Arab. زار; zarbiš is found Hr. 122, 13; Zb. 52; also Hn. 51, 5; 59, 2 ibakki zarbiš *oppressed he wept*.—ūmeš like a lion, like a beast, cf. Zb. 117 (ad 56 rm. 1); V R. 21, 40 it occurs as a syn. of nešu; the plural is ūme, e.g., IV R. 5, 1-2a ūme muttakputu, etc.; another plural is ūmāmu, which is generally considered a singular formation from ܐܡܡܐ; (so Ls. and Del. *Lessert*; index); the ūmām ġēri are the beads of the field (Asrb. VIII. 109).—al-sa-a stands for aš-sa-a, preterite from šasû, a syn. of šagamu and ḥababu to howl, II R. 29, 17-19d; Sc. 318; IV R. 17, 8b al-si-ka *I call to thee*; Hn. 58, 15 11šû šamû *the heavens roared*; II R. 51, 17 ilani mala alsû *the gods, as many as I call on* (cf. ZK. II. 313); ad alsî for aš-sî, see E. P. Allen in Proc. Am. Or. Soc., October, 1888, p. CXXII. and rm.

<sup>36</sup> See Col. VI. 3 and Asrb. II. 115qq; ḥarru *bracelet* from ḥararu; aḡpu *double*, we find in Hr. 91, 55; ZK. II. 39; Zb. 103; rukkusa, *clasped, bound*, is a periphrastic P'el with passive meaning like kuššudu (1ḡḡuru) *caged bird*, Col. VI. 19; Zb. 11; ZA. v., pp. 4 and 5. Bezold's interrogation mark after kuššudu = *caged* in Col. VI. 19 is entirely unnecessary; Col. III. 20 we had 1ḡḡuru kuppû; muḥḥuḡu *wounded and stamped*, ZA. v. 15; nukkusu *cut off*, Asrb. iv. 74; KB. II. 192-3.

78. ša-mu-tum does not mean *heaven*, but *rain*, cf. Col. IV. 76; *simani* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 are *trophies*, see also Col. VI. 2; *u mun-ni-šu-nu* and *their arms*, *I scattered over the wide field*.

80-1. Bezold *la-az-mu-ti mur-ni-iz-ki qi-mit-ti ru-ku-pi-ia* *ina da-me-šunu gabšuti i-sal-lu-u nari-iš*; *covered with dirt(?) my horses, the team of my chariot, waded in their (i. e., the enemies) thick blood, like as in a river*; but translate with Haupt: *the spirited steeds of my chariot swam in the mass of their blood like a river god*.<sup>37</sup>

82. *sapinat rag-gi u gē-ni* Bezold *crushing good and bad*; but *raggu* is certainly *bad*, and *gēnu* is usually translated *good*. I am, more and more, inclined to translate *gēnu* by *bad*, *evil* and consider it a syn. of *raggu*, as Guyard and others suggested;<sup>38</sup> III R. 38, 18b; Nebukadn. II. 28, *ragga u gēni ušessi* (from 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) *the bad and the evil I threw down, I removed*; Tigl. Pil. I. 8 *mušepu gēni* *who crushes the wicked* (from 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 partic. *šāph'el*) in parallelism with *galpat ābi*.<sup>39</sup>

83. *ša....da-mu u rātu it-mu-ku ma-gar (ša?) ru-uš*, *an der Deichsel(?) klebte Blut und Schmutz(?)* (Bezold); Bezold ought to have known that Prof. Haupt, in *HEBRAICA*, III. 110, corrected Hoerning and Sayce by reading *ša....da-mu u par-šu ri-it-mu-ku ma-ša-ru-uš*. But I do not agree with his translation, *my war chariot sank down to the nave in blood and filth*; *narkabtu* is a feminine noun, while *ritmuku* is a permansive *Itfeal* of *ramaku*, like *šitkunu* (I. 72) and the whole is to be translated, *blood and filth ran (or dripped) down its wheel* (whenever the chariot was in motion); *ad mašaru wheel*, cf. Haupt, *Sumerische Familiengesetze*, p. 72; *BAS.* I. p. 174 and *HN.* 42, 11.

84. Read *kima ur-ki-ti* (not *ur-ki-ti*).

85. *sa-ap-sa-pa-ti testicles* (so Haupt after Pinches); Lhotzky, *Dissert.*, p. 23, suggested *ear-lap*.

## COL. VI.

4. *With sharp swords hu-za-an-ni-šu-nu u-par-ri'*, Bezold (following Haupt's suggestion) translates, *their noses I cut off*.—Now line 6 speaks of *the rest of his (the enemy's) magnates*. May not *huzanni-šunu* be a byform to *hazānu governor* (cf. *aḡḡaru* a byform to *iḡḡuru*, etc.). This would give the following rendering: *with sharp swords I cut down their governor*, and now line 6: *the rest of his magnates with N. my hands captured alive on the battle-field*.

13. *Adi II Kas-pu*, etc., begins a new sentence, which does away with Bezold's somewhat obscure objection against Prof. Haupt's translation, *until the*

<sup>37</sup> Read *lasmuti* pto. plur. of *lasamu* to gallop, *Zn.* 54, rm. 3, properly to stretch out oneself, syn. of *rapadu*, cf. *HN.* 44, 55 and 43, 20; II R. 27, 46-7; V R. 19, 18 od, *pariḡ ilasum* *violently he rushes on*; also II R. 62, 15, 16 gh; IV R. 38-39a *lasmu ša birkāšu la innāššū*; a study of *ZK.* II. 843 will teach the editor of that periodical that he has to write *mur ni-is-ki a splendid horse, a charger*, see *Lt.* 146-7; *Ezech.* IV. 58, *KB.* II. 184-5.—*isal-lu-u* read *išal-lu-u*.

<sup>38</sup> See, e. g., Winckler, *Sargontexte*, index, s. v., *gēnu*.

<sup>39</sup> I believe that *gēnu* *cattle, sheep* and *gēnu* *bad, evil* are simply homonyms; *gēnu* *cattle* is the Hebr. גֵּנוּ, Arab. ضَان; Aram.-Syr. ܕܢܝܐ: ܕܢܝܐ and modern Syr. *uḡna* (cf. modern Arabic *uakil* for 'akil, etc., and Prof. Haupt, in *HEBRAICA*, I. 180, rm. 2), ܕܢܝܐ (*gēnu*) is derived from ܕܢܝܐ (*agū*) to lead out, just as *πρόβατον* is from *προβαίνειν* (Paul de Lagarde).

*fourth hour of the night it went on (then finally) I stopped the slaughter.* Accepting this rendering, we have, of course, to read adi II kasbu MI (= muši) illi-ku dakšunu apruḡ, and not adi II kasbu<sup>40</sup> mi-il-li-ku, etc., as Bezold does. Also cf. BAS. I. 4.

16. ḥar(?) ba-šu *vehemence* (Bezold); some, ZB. 20, rm. I, read mur-ba-šu; cf. Col. III. 47; V R. 21, 41a; IV R. 1, 1a, a form like muš-pa-lu *depth*.—lú being a syn. of rīmu, pāru and arḥu, its meaning *bull* is quite certain.—18. u-da-i-šu דַּאִישׁ, cf. da'aštu; HN. 51, 10.

20. Read rather u-za-ra-pu; Bezold omits to translate kirib *the inside* (of their chariots); ad zarapu to *pour down*, etc., cf. Talmudic קִרְיָן, Syr. ܩܪܝܢܐ; cf. Ps. LXXII. 6; ad VI. 9, see Del. *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 366; ad I. 19, *ib.*, p. 246; and I. 22, *ib.*, § 120.

Col. VI. 25 to the end, containing the description of Sennacherib's buildings, will be treated in connection with a special article on I R. 43, 44, a very difficult, but important, inscription, which Bezold omitted with the exception of seven lines (I R. 43, 13-19), see KB. II. 118, 119. Almost every line of Col. VI. 26-74, as transliterated and translated by Bezold, calls for corrections or additional remarks; suffice it to notice, in passing, that

26. ana šub(?)-bat šarrutia must be read ana ri-met šarrutia; constr. state of rimētu *dwelling*, from ramû to *dwell*; see Col. II. 2 ušarmi *I settled*; Senn., Smith, p. 144; the ekallu ḳabal maḥazi ša Ninua is *the palace adjoining the surrounding wall of Nineveh*;—27. ana tabrâti, cf. Fleming, *Nebuchadn.*, p. 40.—28. the reading kutallu is quite certain; it is the Hebr. כְּתֹל, *wall*, and means here a *side-building*, which for the keeping in order of the train, etc., my fathers had built; cf. I R. 44, 55 and IV R. 52, 20b ina kutallišunu muššurat; and 53, 18-19b ana kutalli it-ti-eḥ-su (from niḥesu to *recede*); II R. 48, 50 cd.

32. Bezold's reading la nu-ku-lat! is very good; but translate *his workmanship* (epištāš) *was not tasteful*.—labariš ūme = *in the course of time*.

35. kirubû ma'du is *a great deal of building material*, Ls. p. 65; u-šal-li read u-sal-li. A comparison with Esarh. Cyl. A, Col. V. 6, (KB. II. 134) shows that it is = ḳaḳḳaru.

36. Instead of a-kut-tim-ma read a-ḥaz-tim-ma; see KB. II. 135, rm. ad Esarh. v. 6; while Winckler (KB. II. 148: Col. V. 10) prefers again akut-timma, see his note on p. 148-9; cf. also R. F. Harper, *AEI*, 14, l. 6.

42. (abnu) pi-i-lu; the pilu-stone ought to be well known to Bezold after D. H. Mueller's article on it (*Sitzungsber. der Wiener Academie*). KB. II. 136, l. 1 translates *Quader-steine*. Cf. BAS. I. 171 rm., and 325.

46. Read tim-kal-li-e, enḳuti ana(!) mu-šab; 48. the šadu ellu is a *snow-capped mountain*, not simply a *high mountain* (as Bezold has it).

55. ad ibili ass, cf. Pinches in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XIX. ('87), p. 319, also cf. I Chron. XXVII. 30 אִבְלִי; also see DP. 124, rm. 2.

<sup>40</sup> Concerning kasbu, I notice that all the contributors to KB. I. and II. consider it an Assyrian noun, with the sole exception of Jensen, who believes it to be an ideogram: K A S (GAL) GID and says, KB. II. 203, rm. 5, "so wohl sumerische Aussprache = Weg-lang. Im Assyrischen ḥarrān-arku gesprochen(?); aber bei Leibe nicht kaspu!"



56. The attarati were not *cars* (so Bezold), but *bow-strings*, Hebr. יָתֵר, Arab. يَتَر and the erik-ki (!) are the *oufit*, cf. Hebr. עֶרֶךְ.

58. Read miṭ-pa-na-ti instead of ziz (mid?) pa-na-ti from ṭapanu to *stretch*, to *span*, Arab. ṭafana = ḥabasa to *bind*.

60. Instead of adannis(?) read ma-gal and compare Pognon, *Bavian*, p. 36; Zb. 28, rm. 1.

69. Read niḫi liḫ-ḫi *may he offer a sacrifice*.

KB. II. 114-5. *Belibus who had grown up in my palace kima mi-ra-a-ni ṣa-aḫ-ri like a small dog* (?), so Bezold with a query; see II R. 6, 13ab sqq. LIK-KU = kalbu; LIK-KU TUR (*a small dog*) = mi-ra-nu; mirānu a form like ḫidānu, from the same stem as me-ir-ru, im-me-ru, mu-urum, ma-rum, whereof it is a synonym; also cf. Asrb. IV. 26 and Jensen's note thereto in KB. II. 189.

The arah si-bu-ti (KB. I. 114) is very likely *the seventh month*.

KB. II. 118-9 contains I R. 43, 13-19; line 14, end, Bezold leaves out ukīn; after ukīn a new clause begins, ušalpit belonging to the following; šar-ri-šu e-mid ap-ša-a-ni does not mean *I compelled its king to do my will*, but *I put my yoke, fixed a yoke upon its king*; read ab-ša-a-ni and compare Hebr. אֲבָשׁ and Arab. أبس; also see Jensen's remark on page 173 of KB. II.

17. All their places I destroyed kima til abubi, Bezold *like a storm-flood-hill* (gleich einem Sturmfluthuegel); it is better to say, *like a mound of the time of the flood, I made them*.

18. Read a-nar (not a-lul) ina (iḡu) kakkê, *I overpowered with my weapons*; cf. the Bull-inscription, which reads a-na-ra; and I R. 49, Col. III. 4, âbe'a ta-na-ru (KB. II. 122).

## ADDENDA.

Col. I. 5. Ad ṭaṭapu to *shut in, enclose*, see mu-ṭe-ṭip-pum (part. Pṭēl) and ṭi-ṭip-pu, *a door*, II. 23, 2, 3, c.; tappu *a companion*, is a Semitic word, as is shown by the byform tappiū; cf. Del. *Assyr. Gram.*, § 25, p. 62.

I. 16. Ad šapḡu see also HEBRAICA, II., 146, ad l. 13.

I. 30. Cf. K. 572, 10 man-za-az ekalli; ina pân šarri nazâzu = *to become a king's officer, body-servant*, K. 183, 34 = ina pân šarri erebu.

III. 37 urkarenu; for the interchange of r and š compare also Uraštu and Urarṭu, אֲרָרֶט; iṣdudu IV R. 15, 5 = irdudu (ib. l. 10); while the Assyrian duplicate in both cases has iṣdudu; maštakal = martakal = maltakal, IV R. 26 (No. 7) 37; markītu and the Eth. mēškāi; BAS. I. 168, 13 and 182 rm.



## HEBREW AND RABBINICAL WORDS IN PRESENT USE.

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We shall give a few of the most common Hebrew and Rabbinical words with some of their meanings in present colloquial use among the English-German speaking Jews.\* The words are arranged alphabetically for the sake of convenience, but they readily fall into three classes: (1) Good Hebrew (biblical) or Rabbinical (Chaldaic and late Hebrew) words with their proper meanings. (2) Good Hebrew or Rabbinical words with new meanings. (3) Barbarisms. The following deviations in pronunciation as taught in the grammars must be noted. Qāmēṣ (ֶ) when accented is pronounced as *o* in *rose*; when unaccented as *ē* or *ī*. The tendency is to give all long unaccented vowels the short *e* sound. ך and ך are pronounced as *d*; ן as *v*; ף as *s*, ף as *t*. Whenever the colloquial meaning differs from the Hebrew or Rabbinical one, the latter is put into brackets.

אפיקורוס (Rab.). The Greek word Epicurus. It means one who does not care for religion. In the Rabbinical writings, it designates a man that has no regard either for the law or for tradition.

בהמה (Heb. *beast*). A stupid person.

בעל דרשון (Heb. בעל ruler, possessor. Rab. דרשון preacher). Preacher.

גוי (Heb. *nation*). It may mean any individual that is not a Jew, also a Jew that adopts Gentile customs.

גנב (Heb.). A thief.

דאגה (Heb. *anxiety*). Concern. "It is no דאגה (concern) of mine."

חבורה (Chald. *a company*). A crowd.

חדוש (Rab. *anything new*). News.

חזן (Rab. *the overseer of a synagogue*). The reader who leads in public worship, not necessarily a rabbi.

חכם (Heb.). A wise man, also ironically a pretender to wisdom.

חפה (Heb. *bridal bed*). The canopy under which the marriage ceremony is performed.

חמץ (Heb. *that which is leavened*). Anything to be eaten during the Passover. To this word, as well as to some others, the syllable דיק is added, mean-

\* For words in use among German speaking Jews, see *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden* von Dr. Zunz. Berlin: 1832, pp. 433-442.

ing like *חֲמִץ* of the nature of or like *חֲמִץ*. This *דִּיך* is the German word Ding (thing). It is also written *דִּיג*, e. g., *חֲמִץ-דִּיג*.\*

*חַס וְשָׁלוֹם*. A Rabbinical expression meaning mercy and peace, but more especially *God forbid*.

*חָתָן* (Heb.). Bridegroom.

*חֲתָנָה* (Heb.). Wedding.

*טָרְפָה* (Heb. *טָרַף* to rend). All food that is ritually unclean. This meaning is also found in later Rabbinical writings.

*כְּבוֹד* (Heb.). Honor or praise.

*כֵּלָה* (Heb.). Bride.

*כָּשֵׁר* (Heb. to be right). Food that is ritually clean. In Rabbinical writings the *Höph'al* means whatever is allowed. This word has become Anglicized, e. g., *Kosher* meat; the meat of animals killed and dressed according to the law. *Kosher* designates also a pious person, from Chald. *כַּשֵּׁר*, to be pious.

*לוח* (Heb. tablet). Almanac.

*מִוְהֵל* (Chald. *מַהוּלָא*). The one who performs the rite of circumcision.

*מָזַל* (Rab. one's lucky star). Luck. Also *מָזַל-טוֹב*, good luck. The German word *schlimm* (bad) is also used, e. g., *Schlimm מָזַל*, bad luck. This word is at times used with *בְּרָכָה* blessing, e. g., "In this house there is neither *מָזַל* nor *בְּרָכָה*, neither luck nor blessing."

*מַחֲלוּה* (Rab. *מָחַל* to release a debtor from payment). Failure in business.

*מַמְזֵר* (Heb.). Bastard.

*מַצִּיָּאה* (Rab. anything found). A bargain in purchasing.

*מַצְוָה* (Heb.). A biblical command. Colloquially, any noble act of kindness may be so called.

*מְשֻׁמֵּד* (Chald. *שְׁמֵד* to force one to apostatize; Ithpaël, to apostatize). Apostate.

*מִשְׁפָּחָה* (Heb.). A family.

*נַפְקָא* (Chald.). Prostitute. *נָפַק* (Chald.) means to go out.

*סַנְדִּיק* (Rab. *סַנְדִּיקוּס*). Godfather. The one holding the child during circumcision.

*עַם הָאָרֶץ* (Rab.). One who is unlearned. The plural is formed by adding the termination to the last word, as if it were a compound word *עַם הָאָרְצִים*.

*פֶּסַח* (Heb.). Passover. *פֶּסַח-דִּיך* means anything that may be eaten during the Passover.

*פְּרָנִס* (Rab. one having control). President of a congregation. President of the Board of Trustees.

*קָהָל* and *קְהָלָה* (Heb.). A congregation.

*רִנָּה* (Chald. *רִנָּה*, Aphel, to increase one's gain). Profit.

שַׁבָּת (Heb.). Sabbath.

שׂוֹטָה (Rab.). A fool.

שְׁלוֹם עֲלֵיכֶם (Heb. *peace upon you*). Colloquially this means, *How do you do*, and may be used when but *one* person is addressed.

שָׂמֵשׁ (Rab. *servant*). The janitor of a synagogue. The word is commonly pronounced Šames, not Šameš.

שָׂקָה (Heb. שָׂקָה *abomination*). A Gentile servant girl. שָׂקָה is one who is not a Jew, or a Jew that adopts Gentile customs. There is an expression used very often, meaning *for spite*. It is pronounced as if written לְהַבְלִים. There is no such Hebrew or Rabbinical word בְּלִים. It may be a corruption of the Hebrew word כַּעַם *vexation*.

A very curious word is בִּיצְמָר, meaning an *Irishman*. The word may be explained as follows. בִּיצָה (plural בִּיצִים) means *egg*, in German *Ei*. The word has been formed by suggestion of sound. *I*, the first syllable of the word *Irishman*, suggested the German word *Ei*, which suggested the Hebrew word meaning *Ei* or *egg*. The termination מָר is the German *er*, affixed to names of countries to denote an inhabitant thereof.

## NOTES ON THE ANALYSIS OF GEN. XV.

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The analysis of Gen. xv. is universally recognized as an unsolved problem. At the same time all critics are agreed that P is nowhere present in the chapter, and nearly all recognize the *Hauptbericht* to be J and the supplementary material to be derived from E; some however suggesting, as a possibility at least, that the supplementation may be purely redactional.\*

Kautzsch and Socin in their recent translation of Genesis may be taken as fairly representing current critical opinion in exhibiting verses 1-3 in the type used where J and E are indistinguishable, with a foot-note commending the analysis of Budde, J = 2a,3b, E = 1,3a,2b.

Budde's analysis appears to me entirely satisfactory, and I further agree with him, with Dillmann(?) and Kautzsch and Socin in attributing verses 4 and 6 to J and verse 5 to E.

The "דבר of verse 1 instead of simple אלהים as we should expect according to the analogy of xx. 3 is easily accounted for under the influence of the דבר " of verse 4. Indeed we should scarcely expect יהוה אליו in verse 4 if a יהוה אל-אברם originally preceded it already in verse 1. The inversion of 3a and 2b is not an unreasonable supposition in view of the equivalence of 2b and 3b. במחזה and אחר הרה'א verse 1, and אליעזר verse 2, are strong evidence for E, and verse 5 belongs of course with the representation במחזה. E is not traceable elsewhere in the chapter, and יהוה 2a,4,6, establishes a strong case for J in these verses.

The difficulty is with the position of the J fragment. The E material is properly enough placed but the J material in xv. 1-6 is almost certainly in a position other than that it originally occupied. If this be the case it is easy to account for the displacement, since R<sup>JE</sup> having selected verse 1 from E to place at the head of the narrative would be compelled to adjust his J material to the position occupied by the parallel portions of E. But let us see first why xv. 2a, 3b, 4, 6, are to be considered out of place, and second, ascertain if possible the original position.

Dillmann, *Gen.*<sup>5</sup>, p. 242, objects to Budde's analysis that it ignores the incongruity of verses 6 and 8. For this reason, no doubt, Kautzsch and Socin

\* For an exhibition of critical opinion, see the writer's article, *Pentateuchal Analysis*, *HEBRAICA*, IV., 4.

indicate the want of connection between verses 1-6 and the rest of the chapter by a blank space. In point of fact it is scarcely possible for verse 6 to stand so nearly before verse 8, and it is this matter of their position only—so we are informed in the foot-note 52 by Kautzsch and Socin—which induces these authors to print verses 7 and 8 in the type adopted for R. If, however, we can find a place for verse 6 *after* the passage 8-18 we not only avoid the difficulty but give double significance to both verses.

Again, xv. 7 can scarcely tolerate anything before itself in the narrative of the theophany. It is the introductory formula, cf. xvii. 1: xxviii. 13; xlvi. 3; Ex. iii. 6. On the other hand verse 6 creates a strong impression of forming a conclusion.

In the third place verses 7-18 must follow immediately upon xiii. 11ab, 12c, 13, 18 (verses 14-17 being an interpolation, see Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hex.*, and Kuenen, *Hex.*), in order to obtain their real significance. Then both the solemn entailing of the land by Yahweh upon Abram forms the appropriate contrast to Lot's unblest appropriation of the Kikkar, and the important sacrifice of xv. 9sq. has its suitable *emplacement*, viz.: upon the altar of xiii. 18.

Finally, as Dillmann well says, *Gen.*<sup>5</sup>, p. 242, "Als Einleitung zu Cp. 16 ist die Zusage eines Leibeserben (also v. 4) bei C nicht wohl entbehrlich," and this "introduction" is certainly better placed immediately before the chapter introduced than separated from it by another episode. We conclude, therefore, that the true and original position, not only of verse 6, but of the whole passage xv. 2a, 3b, 4, 6 is at the end, and not at the beginning of the chapter. In other words it should occupy the place of the meaningless gloss, 19-21.

In this way the gift alluded to in verse 2 becomes a very pointed reference to verse 18, and the whole passage concerning the heir becomes of course vastly more significant after than before the covenant here described. One further adjustment may be at least suggested. As Wellhausen and others have observed, xi. 30 is awkwardly placed at present and would seem more appropriate nearer to xvi. 1. If so, its true position is perhaps to be sought, not in ch. xvi., but as a motive for xv. 2a, immediately preceding it.

J would, therefore, run as follows in ch. xiii.-xvi. xiii. 2, 5 (ולא יכלו) וירא יהוה אל-אברם; xv. 7 (perhaps originally in the form of xxiv. 7) 8-11 (part of verse 12(?)), 17\*, 18 (xi. 30(?)); xv. 2a, 3b, 4, 6; xvi. 1b (ולשרי instead of ולה), 2, 4-8, 11-14.

## →CONTRIBUTED NOTES.←

**Azazel (Lev. xvi. 8, 10, 26).**—A careful review of the various opinions of expositors respecting this obscure term, which does even appear as a proper name in the versions of Luther and King James I., might not be without considerable interest for readers of this journal. But that is not my present purpose. Indeed, I should hardly have ventured upon such a subject, had I not, in the course of another investigation, quite unexpectedly lighted upon some facts which seem to have a material bearing upon the historical significance of this old world designation.

It is now, I believe, generally admitted that Azazel is the name of an evil spirit, anciently supposed to haunt the wilderness. So much, in truth, is clear from the context of the biblical narrative itself, interpreted without bias and according to the ordinary rules of Hebrew construction. And the evidence of later Jewish writings, such as the Book of Enoch, where we meet with Azazel again, as one of the spirits who fell from heaven, (not to mention what the Rabbis have handed down or invented upon the subject) proves that tradition never lost all sense of the original meaning of this weird figure of primitive theology.

It is a well-known statement of the Talmud, that the names of the months and of the angels "came up" with the restored exiles from Babylon into Judea. As regards the months, every student of Assyrio-Babylonian antiquity knows that the statement is true. As regards the angels, the case is not so clear, inasmuch as the biblical Michael and Gabriel, and the Rabinnical Uriel, Uzziel, Sammael, (identified by some with Azazel), and many others, have not been found hitherto in the cuneiform inscriptions. For Azazel, however, I may now offer evidence which connects both the name and the idea of the desert-fiend with the oldest religious beliefs of Babylonia.

The Chinese language possesses a complex character now pronounced *hiai* in the common dialect, but *hai* in those of Canton and Amoy, and *yé* in that of Shanghai; sounds which presuppose *ki* and *gi* as their primary forms.\* This character is only used in composition with another pronounced *chai* or *chi* in the common dialect, but *ti* in that of Amoy, and *za* in that of Shanghai; sounds which imply as their precursors *ti*, *di*, *za*. Now the compound term consisting of these two characters, *Hiai-chai*, anciently pronounced *Ki-di* or *Gi-di*, is the name of a mysterious being who dwells in the desert, and gores wicked men when it sees them. The creature, which is described as a one-horned monster, like a stag, but is also depicted like a tiger, has another name of importance for our purpose, *Shin-yang*, the "Spirit-goat." Provincial judges and censors once wore a representation of it as their insignia.

The name and the habitat and the function of this "Spirit-goat," who dwells in the desert, and destroys the wicked, curiously corresponds with the name and the habitat and the implied function of Azazel. But I should have hesitated to

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\* See my papers entitled *The New Accadian* in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, especially that in the June number of the present year.



bring the two fiends into direct relation with each other, had I not previously ascertained the identity of the Chinese Avenger of Wrong with an evil spirit of the desert, whose name frequently occurs in the primitive hymns and exorcisms of Accad. As we have seen, the oldest pronunciation of the Chinese demon was Kidi or Gidi; and, as all Assyriologists well know, the Gidi<sup>m</sup> was an evil spirit, whereof the early inhabitants of Babylonia stood in religious awe. The resemblance of the two names is striking enough, considering the enormous geographical interval that divides the Middle Kingdom from the land of the Euphrates and Tigris. But there is a further coincidence in the case, which may fairly be called startling, and which demonstrates the validity of our identification of the Gidi of China with the Gidim of Babylon. It is the fact that the Chinese character pronounced hiai (= gi) is compounded of the simple characters for "dog," "horn," "knife," and "ox;" and the Accadian character pronounced gidim<sup>m</sup> is composed of four characters which also have these selfsame values.\* Thus the Chinese demon agrees with the Accadian in name, ideographic representation, habitat, and nature.

But what of the Hebrew Azazel? No self-evident or satisfactory etymology of this name is forthcoming, so long as it is regarded as a purely Hebrew term. The initial syllable, indeed, affords a sort of assonance with the word for "she-goat" ('ēz); but this hardly accounts for the termination. On the other hand, the first consonant of Azazel may very well have been strong Ain (Ghain); in which case the true pronunciation would be made like Gazazel. With this we may compare a dialectic pronunciation of the Chinese Gidi, viz., the Shang-hai ye-za, which implies an earlier gi-za. Of course, we should expect to find, as in other instances, that the Hebrews had given the name a shape more accordant with the analysis of their own language than that in which they originally received it.

The assimilation of the mysterious Azazel of Leviticus to the desert-fiend of primeval Babylon and the "spirit-goat" of the half-forgotten traditions of China, suggest many things in regard to the annual rites of the Great Day of Atonement. How far it bears on the great question of the antiquity of the narrative in Leviticus, and of the ceremonies there prescribed, I must leave to others to determine. Some points, at all events, are clear. (1) The idea of Azazel is even older than the time of Moses by thousands of years, how many no man can say. (2) Azazel is not, as has been suggested, "the crumbling conception of some Semitic or Egyptian idol, shrunken to the dimensions of a desert-fiend."† (3) The conception of Satan, the arch-enemy of God and man, has left more traces in the O. T. than is sometimes assumed, and was probably far older in Israel than the time of their supposed contact with Persian ideas. (4) The sending of the live goat into the wilderness "for Azazel" was a highly suggestive recognition of the religious doctrine that, in consequence of sin, the lives of the congregation were forfeited to the Avenging Spirit, who carried out the sentence of Yahweh's righteous wrath. (5) The fact that the goat was not slain but set free in the wilderness, symbolized the truth that Israel was saved, by penitential sacrifices to Yahweh the Saviour, from the power of the Destroyer; and (6) embodied in the plainest

\* The Chinese signs are k'üen, kieh, tao, and niu, of which the ancient pronunciation was kin, kak, tar, ngu, respectively. The Accadian sign read gidim is a contracted compound of the (Accadian) signs for KIN, KAK, TAR, NGU.

† Die zu einem Wüsten-dämon zusammengeshrumpfte ruinenhafte Vorstellung irgend eines semitischen oder ägyptischen Abgottes. Rehm: *Heb. Bibl. Alt. s. v. Azazel*.

manner a prohibition of devil-worship (cf. Lev. xvii. 7). It would seem that in this, as in so many other instances, Mosaism has purified and adopted the conceptions and practices of immemorial religion.

C. J. BALL.

**Three Contract Tablets of Ashuritililâni.**—Among many other important tablets which were excavated during the stay of the *Expedition of the Babylonian Exploration Fund* at Niffer, in 1889, were three contract tablets belonging to the reign of Ašûritililâni. For the sake of convenience, I will call these tablets 1, 2 and 3. No. 1 was found on the 14th of February, and it was on the 28th of the same month that Prof. Hilprecht read the date as Nippûru arĥu Šabâtu ūmu 20. m. ilu Ašûr-ētil-ilu (*sic*) šar mâtu Aš-[šur-Ki]. It is, perhaps, the half of a large reddish-gray tablet, the obverse side being badly mutilated, the reverse, on the other hand, being very well preserved. The name of the king is not so clear, as one would judge from Prof. Hilprecht's remarks in *ZA.*, IV., 2. He himself queries his own reading. If the name is to be read Ašûritilili, this brings nothing new, since it is so written on his brick published in *I R.*, p. 8. This tablet has passed into the hands of the Turkish government and hence we may never expect to see it again.

Of much greater importance are Nos. 2 and 3, both of which were excavated on March 4th, and were identified by me on the following day, after they had been cleaned, as belonging to Ašûritililâni, cf. the *Academy*, April 30, 1889, and *ZA.*, IV., 2. Both of these tablets were handed over to the government, but were later on presented to me by my friend Bedri-Bey, the Turkish Commissioner to the Expedition. They are now in my possession. After publishing them, it is my purpose to present them to the University of Pennsylvania.

No. 2 is a small blackish-grey contract, or rather loan tablet, 4.3×3.1×1.2 cms. in size. It is almost perfectly preserved. A small piece was broken off, however, while it was being handled by the officers in the custom house at Iskanderân. The following is a brief summary of the contents of this tablet, viz.: Adar-aĥê-erêb has loaned eight shekels of silver to a man—about whose name there is some doubt. From the first day of Araĥšamna it is to bear interest at the rate of one-half shekel. A list of four witnesses follows, and then, what is of most importance to us, the date, viz.: Nippûru araĥ Araĥšamna um ū 1 šattu 4 Ašûritililâni šar mâtu A-šûr-Ki. In my note to the *Academy*, I read the date of the year as 6. I was, perhaps, a little too enthusiastic at the time about my find and hence was inclined to make the date as large as possible. It can be read 6, but it is better to regard the two lower wedges as prolongations of upper wedges and to make the number 4.

No. 3 is a greyish-brown loan tablet, 5.1×3.8×1.2 cms. in size. It is badly broken and the names of the parties concerned in the contract are not legible. The date reads: Nippûru araĥ Addaru—day lost—šattu 2 Ašûritililâni šar mâtu Aššûr. This tablet also was somewhat damaged by the rough handling of the Turkish custom officers.

The value of these tablets is from a chronological and historical stand-point. They make it necessary for Assyriologists to change their views in regard to the date of the separation of the Babylonian from the Assyrian empire, cf. *Academy* and *ZA.* as cited above. I hope to publish the text of Nos. 2 and 3 in the next number of *HEBRAICA*.

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## NOTES ON THE PUBLICATIONS CONTAINED IN VOL. II. OF E. SCHRADER'S KEILINSCHRIFTLICHE BIBLIOTHEK\* II. THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ESARHADDON.†

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The following notes on the texts of Esarhaddon have a two-fold aim in view, viz., that of correcting some mistakes of Abel and Winckler, and of giving new explanations of words whose meanings hitherto have been misunderstood or entirely unknown. They may serve as material for a future commentary on these inscriptions, promised us by Dr. Robert Harper. Constant reference has been made to Dr. Harper's work on these texts, published in previous numbers of *HEBRAICA*, and in his Leipzig Dissertation. Special attention has been given to Assyrian homonyms and synonyms, which, I hope, will be of use for beginners. A list of abbreviations is found in note 2 of my article in *HEBRAICA*, VII., No. 1, to which the following must be added.<sup>2</sup>

\* Berlin: Reuther, 1890.

† See *HEBRAICA*, VII., No. 1.

‡ Transliterated and translated by Drs. Hugo Winckler and Ludwig Abel.

§ Additional abbreviations:

Dg. = Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar* (English edition).

DL. = " *Lesestücke*, 8d edition (Leipzig, '85).

Dw. = " *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*.

Hr. = Haupt, *Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, '79).

Ws. = Winckler (Hugo), *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons I.* (Leipzig, '89).

GGA. and GGN. = *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, resp. *Nachrichten*.

JA. = *Journal Asiatique* (Paris).

JRAS. = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London).

AV. = J. N. Strassmaier, *Assyrisches Wörterverzeichnis*.

AEI. = Robert Harper's Dissertation.

KGF. = E. Schrader's *Keilschriften und Geschichtsforschung* (Giessen, '78).

LCB. = *Literarisches Central-Blatt* (Leipzig).

Brünnow (No.) = Br., *A Classified List*, etc.

I RAWLINSON 45-47; CYLINDERS A + C. BY LUDWIG ABEL  
(KB. II. 124-140).

COLUMN I.

1sq. On Abel's restoration of these lines, see *HEBRAICA*, VI., 153. I noted the same criticism when I first read the volume.

2. šar kiššati and its five different translations are censured in *ZA*. v. 301.

3. The construct state of aplu son, is apil. In *KB*. I. 4, we find abal; *ib.* p. 40 apal; some read abil and others apil; the only correct reading in Assyrian texts seems to be apil, in Babylonian abil.<sup>3</sup>

5. ša ina tukulti *who with the assistance of Asur*, etc., (Abel); other contributors translate *in the strength of Asur* (*KB*. II. 161 and 239), and again others *in the service of Asur* (*KB*. I. 19 and 33 ad Tigl. Pil. I. 71 and IV. 44; *KB*. II. 11 ad II R. 67, 2, etc.); cf. *KB*. I. 48, where ina ri-ču-ti ša Ašur is evidently the same as ina tukulti Ašur. Schrader also translates (*KB*. I. 50-51) ilī tik-li-šu by *the gods of his service*, instead of *the gods his helpers*; also see *KB*. II. 176-7: *the gods, through whom I am strong* (V R. 2, 121); ina tukulti is best translated *in confidence, in trust upon*; cf. e. g., Esarh. I. 45, *I trusted in Asur*, etc.

9. I do not see why ittalakūma should not be rendered *he marched* (so Harper), cf. e. g., V R. 2, 129 (*KB*. II. 176) and many other passages. It is always advisable to translate as literally as possible, if the translation can be understood without a commentary; this cannot always be said of the renderings offered in *KB*. I. and II.; also see *HEBRAICA*, VI. 154sq.

10. ša ina kabal tamtim, *which lies in the middle of the sea*; Haupt's translation of kablu = the zone of the sea immediately surrounding the continent (*HEBRAICA*, I. 228) is yet by far the most preferable. Lyon, *Manual*, p. 86, "the midst of the sea," i. e., the islands!

20. On SU AM-SI and KA AM-SI = mašak piri and šinni piri (cf. I šī-in-nu ša bi-(pi)-ri *Proc. Berl. Acad.*, '88, 1348, bel.) see J. Oppert

<sup>3</sup> Nebuchadn. I. 33 a-bi-il-šu; *ib.* VII. 28; *AV*. 71; IV R. 20, No. 3, 3; ia-ti a-bi-il-šu ri-e-š-ta-n-am V R. 34, 11a. (Ht. p. 184); for the etymology of the word consult *GGA*. ('77) 1443; Ht. 8, rm. 4; *Lt.* 2, rm. 1; *KAT*. p. 45; *ZK*. II. 309 and 303; *HEBRAICA*, I. 224, rm. 7; Delitzsch in Baer-Del. *Chronicles*, pp. iii. and x; idem in *LCB*. ('65) col. 354 and *BAS*. I. 507, below. The word is a good Semitic word and is probably connected with apalu to subjugate, to have under control; the Akkadian word is ibila, which according to *HEBRAICA*, I. 224-5, seems to be related to Akkadian ibira, *field-laborer*. This ibira sounds strangely like ebūru, the *gathering, the result of the harvest*; cf. Ht. 68, 9-16; 71, 17; II R. 52. 59-63; *AV*. 2158; this is עֲבֹרָה *proventus terrae*, Syriac ܥܒܪܐ *corn* (according to Lagarde, *Semítica*, I. 23, an Aramaeism for

عَبْر) cf. עֲבֹרָה in Talmud and Josh. v. 11 and 12; thus ebūru is an Aramaean loan-word in Assyrian; also see V R. I. 48 išar ebūru napaš (ilu) Ni-sa-ba(!) not ni-da-ba, as *KB*. II. 156. I will add here, once for all, that I am by no means an anti-Akkadist; the Akkadian question has to be decided not on the field of etymology, as many followers of J. Halévy think, but on that of syntax, as Professor Haupt has said again and again.



in *Literaturblatt fuer Orientalische Philologie*, III. 85 sq.; LT., 160 sqq.; LCB. ('80) col. 1586; pîru, of course, is from the stem פִּיר (פִּיר) to be strong, powerful, whence also pîru a young bull; fem. pîrtu (DH. 7, rm. 2; DG. § 64 rm. pi-iar = karradu; Pinches, *Texts*, p. iii, No. 110, a; Johns *Hopk. Univ. Circ.* (March, '84) p. 50 bel. *JRAS.* n. s. XIX. ('87) 319, bel. and Schrader in *Proc. Berl. Acad.* ('87) 592 rm. 2 (= Arab. فیل).<sup>4</sup>

22. (gubatu) lubulti birme; I cannot subscribe to Craig's remark on p. 25 of his dissertation, "that lubulti birme = woven stuff (cloth); burru-mu = weave." This is simply an assertion, without a proof; he follows Jensen (*ZK.* II. 29) who compares Arab. بَرَمَ, to twist together, Syr. بَرَم; but burmu, birmu must mean something like variegated, dark, brown, cf. Hebr. בְּרוֹמִים, Arab. بَرِيم (BAS. I. 507, rm. and Ezek. XXVII. 24).<sup>5</sup>

23. niçirti ekallišu, notice the gen. for the constr. state, as often the case.

25-35. See KAT.<sup>2</sup> 374-5.

35. šu-ud-šak-ia. I have called attention (*Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, May, 1890, XVIII. sqq.) to the great inconsistency on the part of the contributors to KB. I. and II. in their transliteration and translation of this and other words; at least eight different readings and renderings of this word are found in these two volumes, a fact which will by no means help to recommend Assyriology to the students of comparative Semitic philology. Abel even goes so far as to write in the same inscription, Col. IV. 32 šu-par-šaki-ia, translating it by *my colonels*, while in Col. I. 35 he reads šu-ud-šak-ia, and renders an *officer of mine*.

36. Sa-an-du-u(!)ar-ri (see DY. 283; Lagarde *Mittheilungen* II. (end); ZA. II. 305) is the šar (mahaz) Kundi (mahaz) Si-zu-u; on pp. 282-3 (*Babylonian Chronicle* IV. 7 sq.) we read ina araḥ Adar kaḫḫadu ša šarri ša (mât) Kun-du-u (mât) Si-su-u naki-is-ma ana Aššur na-ši, which Winckler translates: *In the month of Adar the heads of the kings of Kundi and Sisu were cut off and brought to Assyria!!* Has Winckler ever studied I R.

\*šinni pîri was borrowed by the Mitannians as šini beruše (cf. ZA. v. 188-9) the -he, -ha being an adjective termination (*ib.* p. 220), thus = of ivory.

\*See ASOR. I. 79; V R. 2, 10; ZA. III. 312 and 320, 56; burrumtu = darru II R. 22, 78-79; 37, 32; Hr. 16, 235; burme eni-ia = *my eye-balls, iris* (prop. the dark portion of my eyes) IV R. 21, 20b; Zs. 82; according to Hommel, *Semiten* I. 318, it means the *eye-lids*; baramu originally meant to stamp, to seal = kunukku II R. 40, 46-7 h (cf. ZA. I. 407); *ib.* I. 45, h bi-ri-im kunukki, followed by ul bi-ri-im kunukki; II R. 9, 42-44 read ina [ku-nu]-uk šib-*bu*[-u]-ti ib-ru-um *he stamped with a seal*; ZA. v. 68, 13-14 we read ena (dual sign)-a-a bit-ru-ma-ma ul u-gab-ba-a ul u-ša-ka-a ana elini pan kaḫḫari, *my eyes are sealed up and I cannot see, I do not raise them up above the face of the earth*; according to Zs. 33, above, burrumu = *bi-color* (V R. 19, 11 ed; II R. 6, 40 ed; 24, 35). From the meaning to be stamped, it is not difficult to arrive at that of being variegated, compare in German = Gedruckte Stoffe, which always conveys the idea of being variegated. For KI bir-me-e (KB. I. 138; Salm. Bal-aw. IV. 4) read KU(=lubulti) bir-me-e.



45, Col. I? Compare also M. Jos. Halévy's severe censure of Winckler's translation of the Babylonian Chronicle, Col. VI., 1-4, in *Revue critique*, June 23, 1890, p. 284.

39. See *HEBRAICA*, VI. 155, where Harper justly objects to Abel's translation. Sanduarri had forsaken his gods and had trusted to the impassable mountains, would be the correct rendering.

43 Gives no sense in Abel's rendering, as *HEBRAICA* l. c. remarks. Read *niš* (not *šum*)<sup>6</sup> *ilani rabûti ana aḥameš isḫuru* (not *iz-kuru*)-ma,<sup>7</sup> i. e., *by the name of the great gods they swore mutually*.

49. On the meaning of *kalamu*, *kullumu* = to show, to reveal, as against *DL* 50-51; *HEBRAICA* I. 219 and *rm.* 2; *DP.* 99, see *ZB.* 68 sq.; *ZA.* III. 87, *bel.*; *Revue des études juives* X. 302 and XIV. 151; *V R.* 8, 75 (= I exposed to the sunlight) and 118; 8, 8 and 9, 112; *Senn. Bell.* 49; *V R.* 53, 11 we read: *may his gods lukal-li-mu* (*let him see*); *V R.* 61, Col. IV. 2 *u-kal-lim* *he made him see*; also *Proc. Berl. Acad.* ('89) 826, 15; *ZA.* IV. 10, 41; v. 59, 42 *ša u-kal-la-mu* *who brings to light* (by his rising); *šāph'el tu-šak-lam* *V R.* 45, 56 c; *mu-šak-lim* *Sarg. Cyl.* 57.

53. See Brünnow, No. 7274; *Ds.* 130 sqq.; *DL. Schrifttafel*, No. 200; *II R.* (No. 5) add. (*ZK.* II. 300, 12; *ib.* p. 413) we have *SAL* (na-ar) *LUB* = na-ar-tu; also *KB.* II. 256, 46 reads the ideogram *zammeru*, translating it by *musicians*; *za-am-me-ru* occurs in *II R.* 20, 7-9b; *za-am-me-ir-tu* *ZB.* II. 300 and 413; *ZA.* v. 98; *Dg.* 265 No. 25; *za-am-me-ra-ku ki-i a-ta-ni* *II R.* 60, 12b. Could it not be that *u* (*iḫu*) *TUR* *u SAL* means *and their instruments* (i. e. flutes) *male and female*, just as the Greeks and other nations had them?

<sup>6</sup> Amlaud was the first to suggest the reading of *niš* instead of *šum*; *nišu*, properly *sign*, then also *name* from *našû* to raise; Hebr. *Dj* and Syr. *niša* were both independently borrowed from Assyrian (so Professor Haupt); c. st. is *niš*; see Guyard in *ZA.* ('80) 48 and notes 550, *rm.* 1, on p. 45; 559; Maspéro's *Recueil des travaux*, I. ('90) 104; Hommel, *Semiten* I. 489; E. Babelon in *Revue critique*, April 15, 1883, p. 144; Jensen, *ZK.* I. 321 sq. (ad *V R.* 16, 47 ed.) and *ZK.* II. 20; *Dk.* 25, l. 20; Oppert in *JA.* VII. ('89) 556 *rm.* 1; *ZA.* II. 99, No. 16; *ZA.* III. 78, *rm.* 3; Jeremias, *Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 70 and *rm.* 2; *niš* stands for *niš kâta*; *Dg.* 138, p. 346 and *Dw.* p. 271; also see *Hr.* 67, l. 33 sqq. *ana arkat ūme amelu ana ameli ana lā e-ni-ia, ana la ragami niš ilišunu itmû niš šarrišunu ana aḥameš is-ku-ru*; *BAS.* I. 292; *Senn. Const.* 48; *V R.* x. 21 (*KB.* II. 154, where *u-ša-aš-kir* should be *u-ša-aš-šir*, *šakar* *u šakar* *interchanging*; *Tigl. Pil.* I. 27 *ana dariš tas-ku-ra* (*ib.* l. 33); it is equal to *zakar* (according to *Johns Hopk. Univ. Circ.*, No. 59 (Aug., '87), p. 1183, against *Lr.* 96 and *Guy. Notes* 220); *V R.* 8, 45 (*KB.* II. 218) *u-ša-aš-kir*; *Josh.* XIII. 7; *V R.* 35, 25 *littasḫarû amâta dunkîia* *let words be spoken in my favor*; also *Hr.* 60, 12, *is-ku-ur*; 23) *pl. is-ku-ru*;

cf. *Aram.* 77D to regard, to observe (*Isa.* III. 16) *Arab.* شق an important transaction.

<sup>7</sup> In connection with *šakar*, I may offer corrections to some passages in *KB.* I. 12, *ina sigri* (read *sik-ri*) *Adar* is translated *im Schirme Adar's*; p. 16 (*Tigl. Pil.* I. 31) *ša ina si-kir šamaš* *in the name of S*; l. 34 *re'ia kēnu ša si-kir-šu eli maliki nibû*, *the legitimate ruler whose power is proclaimed over all kings* (translate *whose command is exalted*, 77J, *over the kings* and see *ZA.* v. 58, 34; *ilu Marduk, ilu šam-šu ni-bi-u*); *ib.* l. 44 *ina si-kir Bēli*, *according to the will of Bel*; *KB.* I. 28-29, ad *Tigl. Pil.* VI. 69 and 70: *in the service of Asur*; *KB.* I. 52-53 ad *Aarn.* I. 5, reads *sigir šaptišu* and translates it by word, adding in a foot-note

54. Why should ina ri-bit Ninâ be the suburb of Nineveh? Translate *the street of Nineveh* (i. e. the principal street) *the broad-way*; ana ri-bi-ti idîma IV R. 22, 20b. Plur. to rebitu is ri-ba-a-ti V R. 4, 82 (KB. II. 192); HN. 51, 12; ZA. III. 314, 67: ušrabbi ri-ba-ti-šu ZA. III. 318, 19; 53, 55 and 56, see HEBRAICA, VI. 153.

## COL. II.

1. Harper does not attempt a translation of id-ki-e-šu. Abel, in my judgment, has done well to leave it out (see, however, HEBRAICA, VI. 153). Pinches and Harper in *AEI*, p. 29, state that this line is entirely broken away on the original; the latter says that idkēšu has probably been taken from a duplicate fragment. Harper refers to Cyl. C II. 5 where we read [i]t-ki-e-šu; but this first sign might also be the latter part of the sign Hr. 16, 228 sq. or of the sign si, ib. 234 sqq. And even if Harper's reading is correct we should have to read at least it-ki-e-šu and consider it a plural to itku *prominent*, cf. Hebr. עֲתִיק *advanced in age*; Arab. عَتِيق *old, prominent*; thus it would be *its* (i. e. Arzani's) *magnates*.<sup>8</sup>

"the sigir of his lip," thus showing that he does not quite understand its meaning. In all these passages we have to read sikru c. st. sikir, from saḡaru, and to translate it uniformly by *command, voice*; cf. II R. 66, 2 Belit ša ina gimir matāti si-kir-ša kabtu; also III R. 5, 5, ina si-kir ilu šamaš. On the same page KB. I. 12, I notice a number of mistakes, viz.: l. 5 read mu-la-'it (𐎢𐎠𐎢) for mu-la'id; on the aḫlamš (𐎠𐎢𐎢) also mentioned on pp. 5, l. 20; 33, 47 (Bez. *Literatur*, p. 67, rm. 1.) see Dr. 235 and 236; Dh. 36, rm. 1; Dw. 283; Pognon *Merou-nérart*, p. 80; according to Delitzsch they are an Armenian people; *AV*.

283 compared Arab. أَخْلَام <sup>6</sup> *allēs*; K. 95, 25 reads (amelu) aḫ-la-mu-u and (sal) aḫ-la-mi-ti, S. A. Smith, *Texts*, III. p. 111, rm. Tiele identifies them with the 𐎠𐎢𐎢 of Jerem. xxix. 24; l. 8. mutir gimil Schrader translates *who looks out for the welfare of Assyria*; it is usually rendered by *to take revenge on some one in favor of another*; cf. e. g. KB. I. 196, line 1 (*BAS.* I. 171, and 375); W. p. 58, 21 (*Asien.* I. 21) mutir gimilli abišu; also V R. 56, 12, and 60, 28-9, b (*ZA.* IV. 338); gimilla; of course, is from gamalu, on the original meaning of 𐎠𐎢𐎢 = *to take revenge, to be revengeful*, see Lagarde, *Nominal-formation* (*GGAbh.* vol. 26) pp. 11, 20, 49 and 221;

also *BAS.* I. 325; 𐎠𐎢𐎢 = 𐎠𐎢𐎢 = κάμηλος (called by the Greek writers μνησί-κακος); Tiele translates KB. I. 12, l. 8, who brought help to Assur and compares such phrases as tēmu utē-runī, *they brought the news* (I) l. 9, read ina ri-i-mit (from ramû to *settle, dwell*) c. st. of rimētu; also see Senn. VI. 26, where Bezold's reading ana sub(?)bat (KB. II. 210) has to be corrected into ana ri-mit; so we have ana ri-me-ti be-lu-ti-šu, Senn. Grot. 46; = Bell. 46 ana ri-mit belutišun (Jensen, *ZK.* II. 54 rm. 1 incorrectly ri-bil); *ZK.* II. 54 and *ZA.* III. 329; Zb. 91 and Jeremias, *Leben nach dem Tode*, 51 sq.; l. 10 read adi ūr bitl. ūru being a good Semitic noun as II R. 15, 10, b u-ur bitl *the woodwork of the house*, and many other passages show; the tibku according to the *Rec. Poet.* n. s., I. 117, rm. 3, was a measure of length, which is explained in the Talmud as the longer cubit of seven palms, mentioned in 2 Chron. III. 3; according to Fox Talbot in *JRAS.* xxvii. p. 81 it is a measure of nine inches; also see Lyon ad Sargon Silv. *Inscr.* I. 83; *ZA.* III. 55, No. 9; 317, 81; and Lt. 177; l. 11 read ane ūm qa (not za)-a-ti; cf. among others *ZA.* II. 176, 16 (ad I R. 4 (XIII) 16); *ZA.* III. 99; V R. 20, 9 gh; 61, 16 sq. and 65, 45, b and Peiser's *Aktenstücke*, p. 18, 19; *ZA.* II. 119, 13, b. Hommel was the first who derived the word from aḡû, while Haupt suggested that qātu be the plural to qitu.

<sup>8</sup> Id-ki-e-šu, as a noun, would be his raw wool; of course it might be a verb idkēšu this would be *he hurried him*, from 𐎠𐎢𐎢, cf. II R. 27, 17ab, or idkēšu *he assembled*; but this does not suit the context, while my reading does so.

3. ina di-ḥi must of course, be ina ṭi-ḥi-(tēḥi, *AEI*, 4); so also l. 12, etc. tēḥi is the genitive of tēḥû to approach, to be near, from טַחַע.<sup>9</sup>

4. itti asi kalbi u šaḥû, with bears(?), dogs and wild hogs (Abel); with wild boars, dogs, and wild beasts (Harper). Did Abel take Harper's boars as an equivalent of bears? šaḥû according to Jensen, *ZA*. I. 179, rm. 2 (not 139, as Abel has), and 306-11, is a wild boar,<sup>10</sup> cf. e.g., šaḥû ḫanî I R. 28, 23a (*KB*. I. 126). The asi kalbi are mentioned also by Assurbanipal, V R. 8, 12 (*KB*. II. 215); Prof. Haupt in *HEBRAICA*, I. 226, and *ZA*. II. 322 sq. says, it means a pup; also see S<sup>b</sup> 2, 12; Jensen *ZA*. I. 307, rm. 2, decides for "a wild animal;" also see S. A. Smith, *Assurbanipal* I., 102 and 111; the plural a-sa-a-ti occurs in *ZA*. I. 307 rm. 1; II. 322 sq.

6. On the Gimmerians and their country see Schrader, *KGF*. 157; Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.* 254; *GGA*. ('84) 260 where Ezek. xxvii. 11 is corrected to גִּמְרִים; also Lagarde *Nominal-formation*; (*GGA* Abh. vol. 35) 77, rm. 2; the niše mat Hilakki are the Cilicians; Hilakku being the חִלְקִי of Ezek. xxvii. 11 (Halévy and Lagarde).<sup>11</sup>

7. The Gimmerians, um-man Manda; Budge, a barbarous soldier. Harper: an umman-manda. Abel: a manda-warrior. For ummānu,<sup>12</sup> army, see *ZDMG*. 28, 133, No. 8; *Ds*. 72; *Dh*. 60; *ZK*. II. 302; *ZA*. II. 152, 36; *Zb*. 7 rm. 1; 12, rm. 1 and 20, rm. 3; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 403. It is the Hebrew חֲמַן as Budge cleverly pointed out, p. 158 of his Esarhaddon (cf. also *HEBRAICA*, I. 229). We have II R. 65, 50 um-ma-a-nu; Khors. 73, 97 and 120; Istar belit ummani IV R. 1, 69c; puhḥir ummanka, Senn., v. 23; Tigl. Pil. VIII. 81;

<sup>9</sup> ṭa-ḥu-u = sanaku = emedu = ḫiribu, II R. 48, 26-28 ed.; ina ṭi-ḥi IV R. 27 48b, ṭi-ḥi durūu II R. 67, 24 (*KB*. II. 14 incorrectly di-ḥi) = near to, close by, also la tē-ḥi II R. 19, 53 a; see *GGN*. ('80) 525-6; *Rev. des études futures*, xiv. (No. 27) 159 compares Arab. طَحَّح; *Zb*. 115; diḥû c. st. diḥ is abundance, rain, storm, destruction, cf. *Zs*. 93, and 119; *ZA*. III. 315 and 325, 74.

<sup>10</sup> Dr. Harper writes to me "on šaḥû cf. also Strassmaier in Epping's *Astronomisches aus Babylon*, p. 171: šaḥû = Steinbock, ibex, not tiger, bear, or Stinktier."

<sup>11</sup> It is the Greek Κίλικία, the ἡπὺς ἐπὶ ὄνυχος of Cilicia. Κίλεξ, was the brother of Kadmos = Arab. ḫaddimūn = the leader, rather than the man from the East (אִישׁ מִקֶּדֶם); both came from 'Asiā, i. e., ultu māt ša a-ḡi-e šamši (from the land of the rising sun) see J. H. U. Circ., (No. 81) p. 75 sqq.; London Academy, No. 945.

<sup>12</sup> An entirely different word is ummanu artisan, tradesman = Heb. אֲמָן (Cant. vii. 2) or better אֲמָן (ōmmān); Aram. אֲמָן; Syr. ܐܡܢܐ; it is derived from אָמַן, while ummānu army is from אָמַן; V R. 16, 19 gh sqq. 89, 48ab; V R. 13, 41ab mar um-ma-ni, *KAT*. 70; Jensen's *Kosmologie*, 414; II R. 67, 70 (*KB*. II. 22) gimir mar um-ma-a-ni ha-as-a-ti (plur.); also Senn. Kuj. iv. 19; S. A. Smith, *Texts* II. 30 sq. (*K*. 538, 31) um-ma-a-ni; *ZA*. II. 229; siḥirti ummani, Senn. I. 81; according to Delattre (*ZK*. I. 110, rm. 1) it means a young man; so also Schrader in *KB*. II. 23; in addition to these see Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 323 sq. and 324, rm. 1 ad deluge 18.

A third word ummanu means heat = Hebr. חֶמֶן; it is associated with ḫuḡgu in a syllabary, quoted in *ZA*. I. 247 (*K*. 2022) and see *W*. rm. 1. It is derived from חָמַם; *ZA*. I. 256; II R. 54, 34ab šamaš is called ša-maš of um-ma-nim.

With ummanu artisan, Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 323 sqq. connects mummu, art (Sb. 90); see also Jensen in *ZDMG*. 43, 195 and *ZA*. v. 103 (bel.) against himself in *ZA*. I. 256; cf. V R. 65, 33a en-ḫu-u-tu a-ši-lb bit mu-um-mu; IV R. 23, 59a ana bit mummu is translated to the

the plural is ummanâte, e. g., Tigl. Pil. III. 48 ummanâte rapšâti; *ib.* VI. 1 ummanâte gabšâte; also see Col. IV. 10; V R. 39, 42ab, we have um-na-na-a-tum, the ideogram in Col. a being composed of that for amamu to be wide, large or rapašu (Sa. v. 8 and 9; Dh. 59-60) and çâbu; also see ZK. II. 302; Tigl. Pil. I. 17; the c. st. occurs in Tigl. Pil. II. 16; III. 36, written um-na-na-at-MEŠ and VII. 59 um-ma-nat (a rare occurrence of nat with the character KUR). The use of the fem. plur. corresponds to that of tuklâte, *armies*. The ummân-Manda, according to Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 10, are not the people of the north, as DW. 226 supposes; l. c. Del. says manda = *depth* and *north*; cf. e. g. IV R. 19, 3-4b, zêr mandi kakkari, *the seed of the depth of the ground*; he explains it as equal to mântu, fem. to mânu = ma'ânu from עָנָה, *to live*; cf. Hebr. מְעוֹנָה (masc. מְעוֹן) *dwelling*; the primitive form ma'ântu became ma'ându under the influence of the preceding nasal, as e. g. in sinundu, sându, tamdu, amdaḥiç, etc. (HF. 43, rm. 2). Also see Latrille in ZK. II. 337. Astyages (Assyr. Ištumegu) is called the king of the Umman manda in V R. 64, 30 sqq.; see Pinches in *PSBA.* (7 Nov., '82) p. 11 and Tiele, *Geschichte*, p. 334. The Kutaeans are called gimir um-man manda in V R. 35, 13. J. Halévy in *JA.* VII. ('86) 333, *ZA.* III. 186-190 and *Rev. critique*, June 23, 1890, thinks, it applies to different peoples and cannot, therefore, be a proper name. Winckler and Delattre, however, apply it to the Scythians (*ZA.* v. 32); Halévy derives mandu and maddu (III R. 63, 38 = fem. ma-ad-tu) with the meaning of barbarians, from madadu = Hebr. מָדָד = 1) to *measure* and 2) to *massacre*;<sup>13</sup> he refers to passages like 2 Sam. VIII. 2, וַיִּמְדֹּרֵם יִימָרְדָם Hab. III. 6 וַיִּמְדֹּרֵם יִימָרְדָם; this explains perhaps the מַדְדָּה of Is. XLV. 14; Num. XIII. 32.

Dr. Harper complains that in a great many cases it is impossible to obtain from the translation the author's derivations. The same may be said of the sense which the translator wishes to convey to his readers; e. g., Col. II. 8 ina irçitim (mâtu) Hubušna: *on the earth of the land H*; or translating urassiba,

*house of confusion* (!) by Jeremias, *LNT.* p. 78. Cf. also Del. *Chald. Gen.* p. 207; *ZA.* I. 35; it is equal to ummatu = art. V R. 39, 41ab; *ZA.* v. 60, 23 ušapā mar mu-um-me, translated by Brünnow, *she makes glorious the son of Chaos*, but better render = *the son of art, the artist*. Another mummu is found in the phrase Mummu Tiamat DL. 93, I. 4; it is the *Mommu* of Damascus; cf. *KAT.* 7; *ZA.* II. 285, rm. 1; according to *ZA.* I. 246 sq. it goes back to מוּמָם; according to J. Halévy (*Revue des études juives* x. 6-7 and *JA.* v. ('85) 321 it is abbreviated from um-um-mu = אִמָּא-אִמָּא, *grandmother*; cf. ad hoc Jensen, *Kosmologie* 534, col. 1; also *ib.* pp. 322 and 512;

others, again, explain it as = Arab. مُمُوم and render V R. 28, 63 gb. mummu = beltum (בהל) = *fright*.

<sup>13</sup> From this verb, meaning *to massacre, to destroy*, Halévy, also derives the man-di-nu and its byform mandanu; on these two nouns see II R. 6, 8; 23, 1. It was formerly read niš-ti-nu e. g. Del. *Chald. Gen.* 313; also cf. Haupt *Stiftungsbericht*, p. 7; *Lz.* 188, 2 *TSBA.* v. 374 (= midînu, *tiger*); Zb. 23; *AV.* 6051 and 6055; *ZA.* III. 189; *BAS.* I. 159 explains mandînu (and mindînu) as a form קַטְל of madanu, *to howl*; the n being of similar origin as in מְנַקֵּא; also *ib.* p. 173.

l. 9, by *he ran down*; Abel probably looked at Dr. Harper's translation and misunderstood the English, imagining that "to run through" and to run down were one and the same; *rasabu* means to *pierce*, to *kill*, Hebr. רָסַב, Arab. رَسَبَ, V R. 18, 25 ab; *ana rasab nakruti*, I R. 7, F. 7 (ZA. iv. 289); *ra-si-ban-ni* V R. 7, 35; Pî'el = *urassib* V R. 5, 110; 9, 85; Ds. 133; Hf. 60; GGN. ('83) 105, 11; the noun *ri-is-bu* and *ri-is-ba-tu*, V R. 18, 26-27b, is a syn. of *diktu*, according to II R. 39, 50.

12. The *mât Tabal*, of course, is תַּבַּל, the Land of the *Tiṣapnoi*.<sup>14</sup>

14. *ana nir* is not to my yoke, but to any yoke, as Harper has it.

22. Cyl. A reads (*mātu*) *Bar-na-ki* and Cyl. B (*mātu*) *Bar-na-ka-a-a*. Cyl. A *nakru akšu* while B only *lim[-nu-ti]*. *The inhabitants of Til-A-šur-ri* (i. e. Hebr. תִּלְאַשָּׁר) which in the language of the people of *Mihra* is called *Me(!)ta-a-nu*: this *Metānu* can well be identified with the *Mitanni*, whose language has been studied by Jensen, Brünnow and Sayce in ZA. v. 166-208; 209-259; 260-274; also Zimmern, *ib.* p. 154 sqq.

28. *Kutū la sanḫu*, the *Kutū*, the *unsubmissive* (Harper, followed by Abel); the *rebellious, unsubmissive Mannaeans* (Winckler). But *ḫutu* is evidently connected with *ḫatū*, literally to *finish*, thus 1) to *complete, fulfill* = *gamaru* and 2) to *ruin, to do away with*; *ḫuttū* and *ṣukṭū* (*napištu*) is the technical term for to *kill, to murder*; in our passage I take it to be the 3d pers. sing. of the Perm. Pî'el with passive meaning, as usually, and translate:

<sup>14</sup> The exact equivalent of Hebr. תַּבַּל is now found in Assyrian; ZA., iv. 261, 33 we read in a hymn *eli nāru eli ta-ba-li*; it is a syn. of *nabālu* cf. *ina tamti u nabāli* V R. 1, 69

(KB. II. 161) = Arab. بَكَرًا وَتَرًا (Haupt, ZK. II. 315) from a root *bālu*; the noun *tabalu*, certainly confirms this etymology. Senn. Smith 22, 72 we read *ana itēšun nabālu gābtaku*; II R. 67, 43 (KB. II. 20-21) *bināt tamtim u nabāli*; III R. 30, 40a, *ina tamtim u nabāli gir-re-ti-šu uḡabbīt alaktašu aprus*. According to PSBA. XI. 323 it means a *dyke*, or *river-wall* and is a syn. of *ḫaḷḷu*. A homonym is *nābālu*, meaning *destruction, ruin*, contracted to *nābu*; cf. Dr. 156; Haupt in KAT. 66, rm. 2; Dr. 122 sq; ZDMG. 40, 732, 11; Asm. II. 106 *nablu elišunu ušaznin*, which, KB. I. 80, is rendered *fire let rain down upon them*; following Jensen, who first explained it as *fire*, Hame in ZA. I. 84 sqq. and Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes I. 158, comparing Eth. *nabalbāl*, *fire, flame* and V R. 19, 48 d *ḫamū ša nabli*; V R. 9, 81 *eli (māt) Aribi i-za-an-nun nabli*, *I let rain down fire upon Arabia*; but how about Salm. Mon. Rev. 68 *nabli mul-mul-li eli-šu ušaznin*? this should teach us that *nablu* simply means *destruction* (so also Prof. Haupt in his excellent translation of the Arabian campaign of Asurbanipal in the memorial volume of Dr. Leemans). *Nablu ḫamṭu*, Tigl. Pil. v. 42 (KB. I. 83 *the flaming lightning, der flammende Blitz* (7)); Cheyne, HEBRAICA, III. 175 sq., translates *nabalu* by *storm*. *Nabalīš utir*, ZA. III. 316, 78, is = *ina tilu u karmī utir*; *nāblu*, *destroyer* (for *nābilu*) ZA. iv. 12, 11 *kima nabli*; ZA. v. 58, 82. *Nablu* may have sometimes the special meaning *fire*, but there is no doubt that *nabalu* means to *destroy* in general, not alone by fire (DH. 67, 10-19; Dr. 122 sq.). Again *nabaltu*, plur. *nabalātu* means *hurricane* (DH. 67, 17; Dr. 156 a *wasting storm-flood*; Cheyne, simply a *flood*); *nabultu* = *mitu*, *corpse*, Hebr. נֶפֶל, DH. 67, 11; Dr. 122; V R. 31, 38 d; *nabbilu*, a *grasshopper* (properly: a *destructive insect*), Hf. 23, 422; II R. 5, 19 d; ad *nubalu* in Tigl. Pil. VII. 67 *ša nu-ba-lu-šu kima u-ri-in-ni eli mātīšu šuparruru*, see ZDMG. 43, 197; KB. I. 43 does not translate it; A V. 261 reads *ša NU (=la) balušu*; Rec. Past. N. S. I. p. 116 renders it: *whose might like a sting was spread over the country*; and adds *nubalu* (literally, *fulness*) akin to *nabli* *all* in the Cuthene legend of the creation (Rec. Past. N. S. I. 153, rm. 2).



destroyed was the unsubmissive, the position of the verb before the subject giving color to the narrative.<sup>15</sup>

29-31. Harper's rendering *who subdued the armies of Išpaka of Ašguza—an alliance that did not save him—with (his) sword*, is verbatim adopted by Abel. But what alliance is it, that did not save him? I am at loss to see the connection. Winckler's translation (p. 147) is much better. Read *ša ummanāti Išpakâ (mât) Ašguza—kitru la mušezibišu—inaru ina kakki*. It is evident that *šu* refers to Išpakâ and has to be translated (*his*) *great mass of soldiers did not save him*.

31. *tarid*<sup>16</sup> *I who hurled back, drove away Nabû-zêr-keniš(1)-lišir (ZA. II. 305), who had trusted in the king of Elam; this one did not save his life* (see for this translation KB. II. 283, Col. III. 34-42); concerning the confusion regarding the spelling of this proper name see ZA. v. 301 bel.

39. *unaššik šepe-ia* is rendered, *he embraced my feet* and in Col. III. 9 and 45, *he kissed my feet*.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See Lr. 160; Ls. 63 ad l. 27; Zb. 7, rm. 1; Sc. 214; V R. 61, 53a we read *ina ungi u bubûti napištuš likti in oppression and famine may his life end; bit ša...lik-tu(ma) the house which has been ruined*, K. 82, 29 (BAS. I. 242); *1-ka-at-ti, 4 ruins* IV R. 4, 28. Perm. ku-zu-ub-šu (IV R. 9, 21, a) *la ka-tu-u* IV R. 23, 12b; *dibbišunu itti ašameš ka-tu-u* ZA. III. 217, 18-19; *hiḫba la ka-ta-a*, ZA. iv. 15, 8; *šipir Esagila la ka-ta-a the incomplete work on E. di-in-šu ul ka(?)-ti, his love-suit is not closed nor recorded*, Proc. Berl. Acad. ('89) 825—*Prêl u-ka* (var. *kat*) *ta-a napištuš*, Sarg. Cyl. 27, (KB. II. 42); *ša ukatti'anni* IV R. 21, 14b; *u-ka-ta-a napsatsunu*, V R. 8, 126; also see KB. II. 263, 17. Perm. ni-si-ḫu elišunu gabbišunu *kut-ta-* (Strassmaier, *Liverpool Glossary*, p. 55, b); Proc. likattâ šanâteša IV R. 26, 16, b. Šāp'el, *napištašunu u-šek-ti* Tigl. Pī. VI, 67. *Iphā'al uk-ta-at-tu-u they have destroyed*, DL. 107, 228; cf. Jeremias, LNT., p. 90; ZA. II. 249. *The enemies uk-te-it-tu-u (have utterly destroyed)* K. 82. 7 (BAS. I. 242). After I had sent the first eighteen pages to Dr. Harper he kindly gave me a few slips of his notes on the Esarhaddon texts, written in 1886. I copy, with his permission, the following ad Col. II. 28: From the context one must give *katû* some such meaning as *objectionable, repulsive(?)*. Can it, perhaps, be connected with the root *קטף* and have some such meaning as *destroyer*? In a letter to me, dated Nov. 30th, Dr. Harper thinks that my rendering does not suit the context. "Of course it may be correct, but in my opinion *katû* must express a quality just like the following *lâ sanḫu*."

<sup>16</sup> *taradu*, Aram. *תרד*, *itrud* cf. *da-a-a-ni ik-šu-du-u-ma ana bit šamaš i-ru-bu-u-ma it-ru-du-šu-nu-ti-ma* (Berlin, *Congress of Orientalists*, Vol. II. 1, 337a). *ana marutišu it-ru-su (=it-rud-šu)*, II. 2, 14, b; *Ω. 1. 16 ana marutišu iškunšu; itrudušu* K. 2867, 16; *ana zihiki ana taradiki, to expel thee, to chase thee*, IV R. 63 (No. III.) 5; Winckler, *Sargontexte* ad Sarg. An. 294 *it-ru-da*; *Ω. p. 23, 16 aḫrud mi-ta-a*, which in the parallel account, *Ω. p. 148, 37* reads *tarid mitâ*; Sarg. Cyl. 24 *tarid*; KB. II. 244, 50, *aḫ-ru-usu adi miḫr mâtîšu I drove him back to the boundary of his country*. The verb *zihû*, mentioned above, was first discussed by Guyard in JA. (June, '80) reprinted in Guy. 188. It means 1) to move away, 2) to expel, 3) to bring = *šbalu*; cf. *zihute kakkabe the disappearance of the stars*, ZK. II. 402; it is, of course, connected with *zahaḫu* to carry off. Cf. ZA. III. 314, 69 *az-ḫu-ḫa-am-ma* (var. *a-su-ḫa-am-ma: 𐎠𐎵𐎶*); Halévy in *Rev. des études juives*, xiv. 158 reads *ḫa-a-ḫu* and compares Hebr.-Aram. *חָיוּ*.

<sup>17</sup> For beginners, I will mention here that in Assyrian we have: a) *nasaku*, *issuk*, *in-asuk* to place, to put; Guy. §56; Dg. §99; Dh. 20, 9; Ls. 12; ZDMG. 40, 719 = Hebr. *נָסַק*, whence *nasiku*, prince; *massaku* (for *mansaku altar = šurkenu*; V R. 47, 36 a; Zb. 14, rm. 4; 23 (see, however, HEBRAICA, III. 108, 5); Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 437; PSBA. x. 478, 7; ZA. v. 87 sq.; BAS. I. 280. Ht. 18, 183; II R. 82, 7, cf. *ni-sak-ku* followed by *ra-am-ku* and *a-šī-pu* = Hebr. *נָסַק*; the gloss *ni-sak* in Sb. 185 = *niḫû* is, of course, Semitic. From this *nasaku* I also derive the name of the god *Nusku*, cf. Sb. 212 *nu-us-ku = 213 ri-'u*; = the Hebr. *נִסְכּוּ* (2 Kgs. XIX. 37) as first pointed out by Halévy in JA. XIII. ('79) 387 sq.; also see Dk. 52 rm. 2;



42. na-bi-'- *who tore away* (= aš-lu-lu of Cyl. B). Winckler's translation of this paragraph is much better than Abel's. Nabû belongs to a stem נָבִיעַ, cf. Sarg. Cyl. 26 na-(a)-bi-'-i Gargameš (KB. II. 42); Winckler, *Sargontexte*, p. 149, 23 na-pi-'- mât kam-ma-nu; bitu ni-bu-u ZA. III. 137 (No. ii.) 12. Some refer to this, such passages as Tigl. Pil. v. 64 mušim-bu (pu) la magire and ib. 71 kuradišunu ušimbu (KB. II. 34 reads ušimpu from napû) cf. Lyon ad Sarg. Cyl. 36; but read u-šim-kit from מָקַת to *fell*; Amiaud (*Recueil des travaux*, I. 187) derived it from šebu to *oppress* and explained ušimbu for ušibbu, for ušib'u and compared שָׁבָה. سَبَا, Aram שְׁבָא (mât) Bit Dak-kur-ri translated by all (*the country*) Bit-Dak-kur-ri; but KB. II. 283 Col. IV. 15 shows that Dak-kur-ri is a proper name, therefore translate *the country belonging to the house* (dynasty) of Dakuru and compare e. g., Hebr. בֵּית עֲמֹרִי = bit-Hu-u-m-ri.

45. is-ḥap-pu ḥab-bi-lu *the wicked rascal*; for ḥabbilu, see DL. p. 140, DG. 65, 27 on the one hand and ZA. IV. 10, 48 on the other; for is-ḥap-pu see AV. 3804; Sb. 332; ZA. I. 180, rm. 1; ḥap (ha-ap) occurs in Ht. 32, 751 as ideogram for bi-'-šū *bad, evil*; this ḥap, of course, goes back to ḥe-nû to *destroy*; Abel, p. 129 conjectures the stem סָחַף, which is Arab. سَكَف, Eth. saḥāba (ZDMG. 32, 21 sqq.); isḥappu would then be a form like is-maru, *lance*; inḥabtu *ear-ring*; iṣ-ka-rû *fetters, chains*; iṣparu, fem. iṣpartu; ešmaru *jewel*(?); or does it belong to the same class of compound nouns, to which allu-happu, a scourge, belongs, which is a good Semitic word, notwithstanding BOR. IV. 44 sqq.? IV R. 55, 6 ana is-ḥap-pi.

45. read la paliḥu siḥri bēl bēlani *who did not heed the command of the Lord of Lords*.

Haupt in *Andover Rev.* ('84) 66; Zb. 25 and 26; Cyrus Adler in *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* (Oct. '87) XXXII. rm. 1. He is the god of the midday-sun and thus the fire-god, V R. 52, 17, a; 54, 13, b etc. Ib. I. 42, b, he is called the sukallu giru *the lofty servant, messenger*. I also believe that the name of the god Bu-ne-ne (III R. 66, 30 b; V R. 61, Col. V. 6; 65, 33, b, etc., mentioned always in connection with Ilu Šamaš and ilat A-a is Assyrian; it is a form like ešēnu, etc., from baṇū, to *shine* (BAS. I. 286 still considers the word an ideogram BU-NE-NE).

b) našaku, išsuk, inasak, to *praise, to glorify*; then also to *be precious* = aḥaru (אָחַר); cf. V R. 23, 42, b; 55, 2 and 22, where Nebuchadn. calls himself našaku, *the magnificent*; pl. (šip-šti) na-as-ka-a-ti, V R. 14, 28, b; nussuku and sometimes nusuku with resolution of lengthening, Tigl. Pil. VII. 95, and often; nišku, c. st. nišik (dupšarruti) II R. 21, 25, a; 23, 49, a; 33, 87; K. 161, Col. IV.; ZK. II. 12; fem. nisiḫtu, abnu nisiḫtu, cf. Oppert in GGA. ('84) 333 sq.; Haupt, *Lauflechte*, 105, 16 and rm. 4; Dh. 55, rm. 1; Fleming, *Neb.* pp. 32 and 58; KAT. 229, 20; ZK. II. 343; DL. XIV., xv. 34; Zb. 104; ZA. III. 311, 56.

c) našaku, išsuk, to *bite*, Ht. 76, 24 šapatsu išsukma u-a pi-šu um-tal-li, *he bit his lip and with woe his mouth was filled* (Dw. 217 sq.), cf. Jerm. xxxi. 19; Homer's *Odys.* XIII, 198; IV R. 31, 21, b tašsuka ubanša, *she (Ištar) bit her anger, a sign of grief and sadness*; niš-ku, *bite*.

d) našaku, išsik, inašik, to *kiss* = 𐤒𐤍; Zb. 71; Ht. II. 9, 21 na-ša-ka-kam (written -gam) il-ta-mad, *kissing he learned*; II R. 47, 83, cf. na-ša-ku preceded by ka-ra-bu, to *bless*. Pṭel unaššik and unaššak (IV R. 9, 59, asq; and often)

e) na-za-ku (or na-ḡa-ku) II R. 30, 42, AV. 6108; K. 538, 4 ana šarri bel-i-a i-na-aḡ-ḡa-ka; ni-zik-tu = Hebr. נִצַּח (Esther VII. 4); Pinches, *Texts*, p. II., I an evil demon; ZK. II. 72.

49. It is interesting to notice the different forms of the pronouns used in the parallel accounts; in our line we have *ekle ši-na-a-ti*; on Cyl. B (*KB. II. 146*) we read *ekle šatina* (cf. Tigl. Pil. VIII. 54 *ši-a-ti-na*) and in Tigl. Pil. IV. 23 we have the combination of the two regular forms: *matâti ši-nâ-ti-na*, a form omitted by Delitzsch in his grammar (§57, No. a).

54. Translate: *and he now bears my yoke.*

55. The (*maḥaz*) *A-du-mu* seems to be the City of 𐤀𐤎𐤎𐤏 mentioned in Isa. XXI. 11, with the Arabic article.

58. Abel should have mentioned that Harper on p. 30 of *AEI* remarks: Pinches (letter of Jan. 24, '87) writes "Before *ilanišu* (written *AN-MEŠ-šu*) I am inclined to read *aššatišu aḥēšu*; the last two characters seem to be almost certain."

## COL. III.

1. Begins *aš-lu-la* (Harper) *he carried away as spoil.*

2. *Urâ<sup>18</sup>* I am inclined to translate *I brought*, (against Harper's *he brought*). "I still regard Sennacherib as the subject of *ûrâ*." Dr. Harper (Nov. 20th, 1890).

<sup>18</sup> Remember that we have:

a) *a-ru*, II R. 22, 14b = *setum* of the *anceps*; and *arru*, II R. 27, 39, cd; *û. 40 arru ša iḥḥuri*, Dh. 53 derives it from *a-ra-ru* to *catch*; cf. *irritu aling*; *ina arrišu pârašu ilakkû* IV R. 26, 28; but see *Rev. des études juives* x. 382; also *irru* II R. 20, 8-10 d; Dw. 45.

b) *a-ru* = *šipat ruḥ-bi* V R. 28, 21.

c) *a-ru* = *flower*, ZK. II. 25-6; cf. IV 27, 7a, a part of the *pikurtu*, just as the *pikurtu* is a part of the *gišimmaru*; Sb. 200 *a-ru*; II R. 38, 18 ab; 39, 24 cd; IV R. 1. 40-41, a; 27, 10-11, b; V R. 28, 45, ef; according to ZK. II. 402, No. 7 = *leaf* or, rather, *round of a tree*; II R. 38, 17 ab *a-ru ša nûni* are the *scales of a fish*; fem. *artu*.

d) *a-ru* = *eagle*; Ws. 122, 129 *eli narâtišu a-ra-nis ušaprišma I caused* (my soldiers) *to fly over these rivers like eagles*; syn. of *šru*, II R. 37, 9; 39, 31; V R. 20, 29. Talm. ע.ר., א.ר.; cf. also *a-ar ilu* II R. 5, 39 a; V R. 21, 43 a.

e) *šru* = to *see*, II R. 25, 5b; followed by *hâšu* to be *light*; *û. 36, 15 ab*; 38, 6 and 7 gh; V R. 20, 37, ef = *a-ma-ru*, to *see*; II R. 35 2f ef; Sb. 211; Hr. 21, 394; = *zimu* V R. 31, 14c; cf. Hebr. רָאָה; whence *urru* = *šru* *daylight*; some add here *aru* II R. 48, 34 gh, *ašar la a-ri* 44, and *ašar la ud-di-l* (Inf. P<sup>1</sup> of ע.ר.) 45; cf. however, *arû* to *go*.

f) *šru*, name of a month = *the bright month*; Hebr. אָרִי, as opposed to *a-da-ru* דָּרְךָ, the *dark month*, from *adâru* to be *dark*; Dp. 138, rm. 3; Dg. 864, rm.; Hr. 44, 2 and 64, 2.

g) *šru* = *forest*; syn. *kišum*, II R. 23, 44; Zb. 95; *kima a-a-ri* V R. 65, 17 b; (*û. 5* and 14); *babâti kima šri lirišuku*, *like the forest, may the gates exhale towards thee a sweet odor*. Hebr. עָרֵב may have been borrowed by the Assyrians; cf. *BAS.* I. 171, rm. 1, and 325.

h) *arû*, to *go* (Guy §§ 37, 63, and 77 = *alaku*); to *bring*, to *put down* (= *adû*, יָרַד, and *naḥû*,

נָחַ) V R. 28, 3 gh sqq.; Hebr. יָרַד, to *throw* (Ps. xxv. 8); Arab. أَرَسَ; Eth. *uārâna*, to *drag* = *abaku*, *leḥû*, *šadaḥu*, II R. 37, 7 gh sqq.; also to *sprinkle*, II R. 48, 22 gh; Hr. 29, 564 = *zaraḥu* = *salahu*; cf. *ZDMG.* 40, 726, 6; Ls. 15 ad l. 17 (end); *ašar la a-ri* *an inaccessible place*, IV R. 16, 47, etc.; *ana šamê ša la a-a-ri* IV R. 15, 6 *to heaven, which is inaccessible*; (cf. *ašar la a-ma-ri*, IV R. 12, 35), etc. Qal Imperf. *u-ru-ma he led away* (and), Hs. 10, 45, (*û. 40*); *urâ I led away*, Ws. 10, 49; 86, 44; Esarh. III. 2 (ZA. II. 305, note 1); *urašû I dragged him away* Senn. II. 61, iv. 40; IV R. 9, 102; written *u-raš-šu*, ZA. IV. 412; Sarg. An. 38, 6 f; *u-ra-a-šu* V R. 5, 5. Pres. *mada lu-u'-ir-ru I subjugated the country*, ZA. IV. 168, 30; *ina aḥati ašar la a-ri li-ru-šu*, IV R. 16, 47. Imper. *alik ḡadu ittika ḥarimti uḫat u-ru-*

4. itti tamartišu kabitti, *with his weighty present*.<sup>19</sup>

9. Means, of course, "the injuries, which the figures and pictures of these gods had received, since Sennacherib brought them to Assyria, I repaired; an h u - su - nu = an h ū t - šu nu, their condition of delapidation."

22. *A thousand* abne be - ru - ti; bēru corresponds to Hebr. בְּהִיר *shining*, Job xxxvii. 21, Aram. בְּהִיר; Arab. يَبْهَرُ; Eth. *barēha*, with metathesis of 7 and 7, whence Eth. bērhān, *lightning*, = Arab. بَرْهَان; we have in a kaspi bi - e - ri, Berlin, *Congress* II. 1, 329, b; mē beruti *clear waters*, II R. 36, II.<sup>20</sup>

23. *A thousand* KUN(GUN)-ZI rikki is usually translated: *a thousand ounces of spices*,<sup>21</sup> Del. *Schrifttafel*, No. 140; but we might also read gun - zi and

ma (*take along with thee*) HN. 10, 40 (cf. G. I. 45); also p. 9, 19; in ZA. iv. 8, 23 we have ta(t) - ri - i' apparently from arū.

Iphthāl: ittarū = ittalak; i - ta - ra ultu šadi IV R. 14, 23, a; at - ta - ri, del. 87; ZA. III. 420; Prec. kullat na - ki - ri lit - tar - ri, linušu (שָׁנָה) liknušu (שָׁנָה) ana šepēia V R. '85, 44, b (or from תָּרַר (?) ); lit - tar - ru - ni = lu it - ta - ru - ni, so that they should bring Tigl. PII. II. 96; VII. 38 (or from tārū, תָּרַר, to lead(?)). Part. muttarū (*directed*) I R. 65, 2 a etc.

P'tel Perm. urrū - šu IV R. 61, 23 a, he has led him away (Zb. 89); plur. ša ur - ru - u maḥar šar māt Kaldi, Sarg. Oyl. 18; ur - ru - u ša šāri II R. 30, 23 efsq. = to blow, said of the wind; Rec. des travaux I. ('79) 186, compares Arab. يَبْهَرُ, to blow; Part. mu' - aru bubulu

Ws. 168, 6; also mu' - ir - ru leader.

Iphthāl: uttarū IV R. 1, 37 a; cf. me - e mut - tar - ru - u IV R. 9, 51.

Šāph'el: u - ša - ri (var. u - sa - ri) Asm. II. 101 I entered and u - še - ri (G. 113).

Derivatives: mu' - ir - ru; urtu; tērtu.

<sup>19</sup> Notice:

a) tamartu, *payment, offering, present*, e. g., V R. 2, 110; 7, 90 tamartu mandattašu kabittu, *the payment of his heavy tribute*. According to S. A. Smith, *Texts* II. 15 from תָּרַר, to send, as against Schrader - Latrille from תָּרַר, to see (ZA. I. 37); also see DL. 138, rm. 2, and Lyon, *Manual*, 116.

b) ana tamarti šī - ta - as - šī - ia kirib ekallia ukīn in the different colophons, e. g., II. R. 21, 33 a; 23, 67 a; V R. 16, 30; 30, 52; ZK. II. 2, 1. 3. Guy. 345 and 65, to "be seen and to be read," this is from תָּרַר, to see cf. e. g., I R. 27, 63 - 66! Cf. Eth. amāra II. 1, to show; cf. ZA. III. 60, above.

c) tamartu = ribū a quarter of the moon ZA. I. 437, rm; probably from תָּרַר.

d) tamirtu, in conspectu, Senn. I. 21; V R. 3, 41 ta - mir - tu (var. mar) the city limits (EB. II. 123 - 3); cf. LS. p. 67; DL. 138, rm. 2; ZA. III. 318, 86 (*horizon*); from amāru to surround (Hebr. תָּרַר) tamirtu is the surrounding of a city; from the same root also

e) tamirtu water - reservoir (HEBRAICA, IV. 53) water - course; plur. tameratu, Senn. Bav. according to Del. in LCB. ('82) 1192 sq. from תָּרַר; cf. Hebr. תָּרַר = תָּרַר (see Assyrian kamartu); also amiranu, the same.

20 We have, besides bēru *shining*, also

a) bēru (plur. berāti, ZA. III. 318, 87) well, fountain, = būru; from būru to catch in pits, Hebr. בְּרָא.

b) bēru, *midst* (properly the condition of being bound, Gebundenheit); fem. bērtu; often = fortress, citadel, Hebr. בְּרִיחַ; from barū = בָּרַח to bind.

c) bēru, *select*, e. g. Neb. IX. 6 šurmāne niski bērutim, cf. Isa. xxxvii. 24 מְבַרְרִים בְּרִיחַ; qābe bēru *select troops*, V R. 13, 33 - 35 ed; DP. 75 sq.

d) bēru, *vision*; Hr. 13, 156; 208, 18; for būru; cf. ibri and abrie (ma); ZK. I. 318, rm. 1; bīr mūši = šuttu *dreams* = tabrit mūši; cf. Hebr. בְּרָא.

21 Literally of rikku much (šun = XI - A = ma'adu Hr. 28, 626); šun, of course, is simply the abbreviation of zūnu *fullness*.

connect it with the late Hebr. **גָּנִי** c. st. **גָּנִי**, Esth. III. 9; IV. 7; Ezek. XXVII. 24; cf. Persian **گنج** Skt. *gāṅga*, *treasure*; *ganzu* = *treasure*, III R. 56, 10, a; AV. 1542 = II R. 26 (No. 2) add. *gan-zi* = *ka-na-šu-u*; ZK. II. 84, 16-17; *gunzi* might mean *costly*, *precious*. Brünnow, p. 103 has GI-KUN-ZI-DA V R. 32, 40 e = *ka-an mi-iḥ-ri*, on which see Jeremias, *LNT.*, p. 67.

25 sqq. See Delitzsch in ZK. II. 93-94.

If we read *mi-šid na-ba-li* (instead of *mi-lik! nabali* = *a journey through a desert land* ZA. II. 112 sq., cf. Ps. XXIX. 10) we have to connect it with *mašadu* II R. 27, 47 ef; 36, 73 gh; 48, 44 ef; *muššudu* II R. 27, 48 ef; 48, 45 ef; followed by *tašrihtu* and *muštariḥu*; Hr. 87, 66: *akalu ša zumur ameli muš-šu-du*; *mi-šid-tum* ZA. II. 156, 20; *mišidtum e-mi-šid* = *Tetanus constricted him, he was paralyzed* (II R. 27, 47 sq.); *Rec. Past.*, n. s. I. 27, rm. 5; and KB. II. 280, 20.

26. On *tâbtu*, *coarse sand, gravel*, see ZK. II. 25, rm. 1; KB. II. 206-7, note ad V R. 7, 79; read *dâbtu*, with Harper and connect it with Hebr. **דָּאֵב** to *languish, to perish from thirst*; cf. Jer. XXXI. 12 and 25; Ps. LXXXIX. 10, **דָּאֵבָה** Job XLI. 14; and **דָּאֵבָה** c. st. **דָּאֵבָה** the *perishing, wasting away* (Deut. XXVIII. 65).

27 sqq. 150 *miles of swamps, filled with aban ka-za-bi-ti*; comp. Hebr. **בִּץ** and **בִּצְה**; plur. *bâše* I R. 69, 53 a, KB. III. part 2, p. 82; 88. Col. I. 36; 90, 12 sq.; cf. Neb. Senk. 15, a; KB. II. 282, Col. II. 5 *ba-aš-ša*; for *bu-kut-tu-u*: translated KB. II. 131 *a thicket and*; *ib.* p. 147, *bu-ḫut-tu-u, a desert of*; read *pukuttu* = *filled with*. Dr. Harper gives me the additional passages, I R. 70, Col. IV. 13 [but see Guy. § 70 and Jensen ZA. I. 409]; III R. 41, Col. II. 33 and 43, Col. IV. 5 [on the former see ZA. III. 237 and on the latter ZK. II. 31.] AV. No. 7122; Dw. 104. According to *Wiener Zeitschrift*, IV. 120, rm. 1, *paḫadu* means to *depose* = Hebr. **פָּקַד** 2 Kgs. V. 24); *aban ka-za-bi-ti* is *aban pi-ša-bi-ti gazelle mouth stone*; Col. IV. 12 of Cyl. B reads *aban KA BAR-KAK*, thus showing that *šabiti* = *BAR-KAK* = *gazelle*; besides this, a variant has *pi-i* for *KA* = *mouth*; cf. II R. 27, 15 cd.

29. On Schrader's *kaspu*, Abel's *kasbu*; Jensen's *KAS-(GAL)-GID*, see my remarks in the *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* (May, '90) XVIII. sqq., and ZA. V. 301.

31. The *aban SAG-GIL-MUT* (!) is also mentioned in V R. 30, 75 gh = *TAG-BAR-BAR* which according to II R. 26, 56, etc. = *piḫû, white*; thus it would be a white stone; also see II R. 37, 67.

38. Begins a new period; cf. Cyl. B IV. 16 (KB. II. 146-7), where we find *nagû šuatu* before *ša*.

35. Read *ina ki* (not *ki*)-bit, and so throughout; from *ḫebû* = **קָבַע**.

36. *šal-ṭa-niš attalak, I marched victoriously*, is translated by Winckler (KB. II. 147, Cyl. B IV. 18) by *with destruction, (unter Verwüstungen)* and derived

from šalaṭu to *cut off* (= Arab. *سلط*; Eth. *šaláṭa*; Hebr. *שלט*, ZDMG. 32, 21 sqq.; Zb. 103 rm. 1); a syn. of bataḫu, II R. 39, 14 gh.

38. For būšu read šašu and cf. my remarks in *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* (May, '90) XIX. sq.

46. I read with Harper aḫ-ta-bi-šu a-ḫu-lap. IV R. 62, 45, b we have the same phrase in the meaning of *to proclaim to some one*; it is equivalent to *kebû šulma* or *šulum*; cf. ZA. III. 40 and often in Asurbanipal.

53. The reading Bel-iḫiša we owe to Strassmaier (ZK. I. 70); he is the Babylonian king Akises, mentioned in Berosus; Col. III. 53-IV. 7 are discussed by Winckler in ZA. II. 305-6.

54. Abel ina mê u ḫan appari; written AŠ A-MEŠ ŠA GI ZUG-MEŠ = ina mê u ḫûḫē; for ZUG is ḫûḫû,<sup>22</sup> not apparu.<sup>23</sup>

59. Harper's reading and translation is better by far than that of Abel; gu-maḫ-ḫe šuklul šam-na are *large oxen, completely fattened*; cf. Ws. 52, 311, 74; 432; 131, 165 (KB. II. 78-79) gumahḫe bitruti šu'i marûti; also Ws. 112, 19; V R. 61, 30 d gumahḫe paḫluti *strong, fat bulls* (= alap niḫē II R. 44, 11 f); IV R. 23, 10 a gu-gal-lum, gu-maḫ-ḫu kabis ritu ellitim.<sup>24</sup> Gu-maḫ-ḫu and Gu-gal-lum are both of Semitic origin!

<sup>22</sup> apparu is ZUG-RA i. e. ḫûḫû (IV R. 26, 51 a) + rahaḫu (Zb. 77, med); V R. 51, 75 b sq.; DL. 93, 6 and 138; ad ḫûḫû see Guy § 49; Dy. 241; KAT. 10; Delitzsch in Baer-Del. *Ezek.* p. xv.; Zb. 77; Dy. 64, rm. 1; Hr. 33, 771; Pinches, *Texts*, IV. 229; it is derived from aḫû, Aram. *NY'* to *grow* and stands for ḫû-ḫu-u; cf. Hebr. *נָחַץ* Isa. XLII. 5; Job XXXI. 8. Its original meaning is *dry land* as opposed to water; in Senn. Kuj. IV. 36 it is specialized to the meaning of *teland*. DL. 93, 6 we read ḫu-ḫa-la še'i; IV R. 19, 59, b kima ḫûḫē mûšam u âri adâmmu; also IV R. 26, 51 a. Hr. 59, 28 ša ina ḫirim u ḫi-e i-mu-ut (whence Zb. 77 makes ḫiru = ḫûḫû) II R. 8, 30 ed; also Neb. Grot. I. 9; Senn. III. 59; ZA. IV. 241, 33 (kl)-in-gi u ḫi-e lištešir admanšu. The apparu is the *meadow, the marsh*; according to ZA. II. 119, 15 and PSBA. X. 390 it is a *ditch, a canal* (= Hebr. *חַפְזָה*, Arab. *خفر*); plur. apparate (KAT. 345, 19; 351, 1) Talm. *חַפְזָה*. Kan appari (or apparâte) = *reed*; the plur. ap-pa-ri-šunu šam-ḫu-ti occurs in ZA. III. 314, 70 and p. 330; mahaz ap-pa-ru V R. 2, 26 (KB. II. 222); ana sa-pan-ni ap-pa-ru (he sent) *into the darkness of the swamps* (K. 509, 8) BAS. I. 241; nār agamme u apparâte: Senn. III. 59 are the swamps and cane-brakes of Guzûmân on the Persian Gulf.

<sup>23</sup> Remember, besides apparu:

a) a-pa-ru to *cover, to clothe*; Dy. 54; = Hebr. *כָּסָה* in 1 Kgs. XX. 38 and 41; but Nöldeke in ZDMG. 40, 720 (med.) compares Arab. *خف*, as Guy. § 7 did before him.

b) a-pa-ru, *head-band, head-gear* = Hebr. *כֶּסֶת*.

c) ap-par-ru-u, *the young of a beast*; cf. Hebr. *פָּרִי*, *the young of a hind*; TSBA. V. 333; ZDMG. 27, 709 (No. 19); ZA. I. 311 and II. 321; Dy. 300. From *عَفَر* to run something in dust. See especially Paul de Lagarde in *GEN.* (78) 4 sqq.

<sup>24</sup> For these and other nouns see Dy. § 73, rm; he mentions, e. g. paramahḫu *holy sanctuary*; a compound of parakku + mahḫu; tupšarru *tablet writer*, šangamahḫu *high-priest*, II R. 58 (No. 6) 70-72; III R. 68, 12 ef; IV R. 8, 51 b šangamahḫakâma *the high-priest am I* (BAS. I. 219) not ašši kulâ ḫira rabâ, as Jensen ZK. I. 292 reads. Delitzsch, also, quotes kisalluhū, but does not know how to explain it. It is evidently composed of kisallu + ḫu; cf. kisallu and kisalmahḫu. Now, the recent articles on the Mitanni language, mentioned above, show that -ha, -he was an adjective termination in that language. It could easily have been that kisallu-ḫu, occurring so very seldom, was adopted from that language.



## COL. IV.

5. read *gâbe* not *sâbi*.

8. On *bit* MUN see above ad Col. III., 26, = *bit dabti*; Brünnow, p. 132; and *KB.* II. 130 Col. III. 26; 146 Col. IV. 11, where the *a-šar šu-ma-me* is an explanatory addition to *kaḫ-ḫar MUN*.

9. Translate with Harper and *KB.* II. 146 *in the country of the far off Medes*.

10 and 33. Read with Harper and *KB.* II. 146 (IV. 4) *pātu side, border*; cf. II R. 38, 8, *edsqq. pa-a-tu(!), pa-a-tu ki-ri-e, pātu ekli, pātu mâtî*; *ZA.* V. 14, rm. *ša pa-a-ta la išû which has no limit*; *ultu pa-a-ti ZA.* III. 318, 87; *ZA.* IV. 67 (above); ad ideogram, see II R 50, 63 ed.

15. *ana ni-i-ri* not *under my yoke*, but *under any yoke* (also *KB.* II. 147 to be corrected accordingly).

26. *mur ni-is-ḫi rabûti large horses*; but *mur niṣḫu* is not simply horse, but a splendid horse, a charger, so-called as being a noble animal. III R. 38 (No. 2) 62 we have *mu-ur ni-is-ḫe-ia my steeds*; it is a compound of *mûr* (c. st. of *mûru* for *mu'ru*, for *muhru*, Arab. <sup>50</sup>مهر) and *niṣḫu splendid, noble*. *ZK.* II. 343; *DG.* §73.

*Ṭi-ib matiṣu* is not the *produce of his country* but, the choice of his country (so Harper); cf. III R. 4 (No. 7) 61 *ina ṭi-ib lib-bi-šu* etc.

29 sq. Harper reads *aššu ḫazanâti saḫâtu idkušunuti, as for the city officers, faint-heartedness(?) struck them*; *belûti uḫallûma erišuinni kidru, they besought my lordship and they asked of me a treaty*. Abel translates: *Against the city officers(?) whose hand (ša ḫâtu) had ruined them, etc.* Translate: *As for the governors (mentioned in 19 sqq.) which my hand (i. e. my power) strengthened,<sup>25</sup> they asked for my lordship and applied<sup>26</sup> to me for auxiliary troops (kitru); the vice-regents, the governors, who were near their land, I sent to them.* Ll. 35-37 refer to the king's governors.

36. *u-šak-niṣ-šu* is an exception for *-s-su*; cf. *DG.* §34, c.

<sup>25</sup> *itku-šunuti*, from *takû* =  $\text{𐤕𐤕𐤏}$ , a syn. of *ḫašû* to *strengthen*, to *lift up* (we could also translate whom my hand had lifted up); cf. *Trans. of Leyden Congress*, II. 1, 562; *B.A.S.* I. 197 sq.; I R. 67, 23, b *at-ki-e-ma*; V R. 10, 74 *anḫûsu at-ki* (*KB.* II. 233-3, wrong); V R. 63, 29, a *i-ga-ru-šu ḫa* (written *ga-*) *a-a-pu-tim at-ki* (but see again *ZK.* II. 344 and *Dw.* 106); V. 58 (No. 4) 15 *u-tak-ku-kan-ni*; also *Neb.* III. 19 and II. 10; *Neb. Bors.* II. 6 *u-šat-kan-ni lib-ba, he made me lift up my heart*. Some compare *Hebr.-Aram.*  $\text{קָנַע}$ , *Eth.* *ṭaḫ'a*; *Senn. Bay.* 7 (*KB.* II. 116 sq.) *ṭi-ik šamê turrûḫa enâ-šun = towards heaven are their eyes turned!*

<sup>26</sup> Remember:

a) *erešu* (= *arašu*) to *apply, wish, implore*, *Hebr.*  $\text{אָרַשׁ}$ , whence  $\text{אָרְשָׁה}$  *desire*, *Ps.* XXI. 31 = *Assyr.* *ereštum*; *Arab.*  $\text{ورث}$ ; *DP.* 56 and *rm.* I; *Jeremias*, *LNT.*, p. 39; *Ws.* 68, 408.

b) *erešu* to *betroth*, *Hebr.*  $\text{אָרַשׁ}$  (*PI'el*) *Deut.* XXVI. 7; *Talm.* and *Syr.*  $\text{ܐܪܫܐ}$ ; *DH.* 19, 21-22; *ZA.* I. 384, *rm.* I; whence *erešu, bridegroom* and *ereštu, bride*.

c) *erešu*, to *smell*; e. g. *lirišuka* V R. 65, 17 b; whence *erišu smell, odor*; e. g. *Esarh.* V. 88; V R. 10, 99; 64, 12 *ša e-ri-si (= e-ri-iš-šl)-na ṭābu*.

d) *erešu*, to be *sensible, to decide*, *Hebr.*  $\text{אָרַשׁ}$ ; II R. 62, 36 ab, we have *barû, to decide*, with the gloss *u-ra-aš*, which is Semitic, from *erešu*. Derivative: *eršu sensible, wise*; *uršanu mighty*.



45 sq. Tiele (ZA. v. 306) translates: *ich liess die Heiligtümer der Städte Assyrien's und Akkad's machen*; i. e. wie immer: *wiederherstellen*. Tiele should have quoted, e. g., Ps. cxxii. 2: יְרוּשָׁלַם הִבְנוּיָהּ Jerusalem, the re-built city.

Col. IV. 49 sqq. to the end of the inscription will be treated together with the accounts of the buildings of Sennacherib and Asurbanipal in a special article on the Sennacherib Constantinople-inscription (I R. 43 and 44). Suffice it to point out that

53. We have to read šuhupâte instead of parê.

54. be-lu is a general word for weapons.<sup>27</sup>

57. See BAS. I. 228 and 287 sq.

58. See Craig's *Dissertation*, p. 24 (bel.) ad Salm. Mon. I. 10; I. 59 see DG. § 98 (p. 274).

60. HEBRAICA, VI. 153 sq. and KB. II. 148, Col. V. 7 where ni-ru šu-a-tu is to be corrected to aš-ru šuatu (HEBRAICA, *ibid*). The parallel account in I R. 44, 57 has ɣu-uḫ-ḫu-rat šubatsa. Not having examined the original myself, I can only accept what others have seen, and read with Harper imiḡan-nima.

#### COL. V.

1. The ḫubut kašti-ia are, of course, like שְׁבוּיֹת חָרָב.

2. Read (iṣ)allu tup-ḫik-ku ušaššišunuti (נְשָׂא) and translate *a chain, the badge of slavery I caused them to wear*: see my remarks before the Am. Or. Soc.'s meeting at Princeton (October, '90).

6. Kima aḫaztimma in accordance with my means (Harper; DW. 290; BAS. I. 321 ad p. 135); Abel leaves it untranslated; Winckler (KB. II. 140, 10) reads a-kut-tim-ma and renders: *I separated a large piece of ground for a building ground from the field and added it thereto* (i. e. to the ground, on which the former stood). I translate: *a great mass of earth in accordance with the (building) plan I dug out from the (neighboring) fields and added it to the plot on which the former palace had stood*,<sup>28</sup> ad ḫirubû syn. of kaḫḫaru see KB. II. 134, Col. V. 6; 148, Col. V. 10 and Senn. VI. 35; I R. 44, 60.

e) erešu, to spread; Hebr. עָרַשׁ, Arab. عَرِش, DH. 47, 20; Rev. des études juives x. 301 and ZDMG. 40, 737, 6; a syn. of rapadu; V R. 24, 11 = alaku; whence eršu couch and maršu = ma'alu bed (Paul Haupt).

f) erešu, to plant, Hebr. עָרַשׂ, Arab. غَرَسَ (Jensen, ZA. I. 16 غرس); Sb. 202; Ht. 12, 98, etc. V R. 24, 12 od = na-du-u; derivatives are erešu garden; merišu and merištu plantation (ZA. I. 410); irrišu gardener and irrištu plantation.

g) e-re-šu = šar-ra-tum V R. 28, 31.

<sup>27</sup> See ZA. III. 312, 57; II R. 31, 51 c rab'be-li; V R. 13, 33 c sq. gābu bi-e-ru choice-soldier (DP. 76), followed by gābe be-la-ti(?) and gābe sa-an-nuḫ-ki (כַּנְק); ZK. II. 80; D. 39 sq. mu-i-ir gābe and ri'e gābi, a captain, and 41 gābe ki-iḡ-ri an army.

<sup>28</sup> "Delitzsch was the first to read Bauplan = Building plan; cf. DW. 299; Jensen's reading atartu = Hinzukommendes, Kosmologie, 885, should be cited in order to make the note complete. Perhaps also Budge's asil timma HE. 178 = like the line of a rope." Dr. Harper (Nov. 20, 1890.)

9. Compare the interesting parallel passage II R. 66 (No. 2) 6 ina pēli eški (fā'il-form) šikittašu ušrabbi.

11 sqq. Cf. *KAT*<sup>2</sup> 354; *KB*. II. 148 and I R. 48, No. 1.

15 and Col. VI. 2 read a-ṭap-pi = Hebr. *תפח*, coping 1 Kgs. VII. 9 and see my remarks before the *Am. Or. Soc.* at their meeting in Princeton (October, 90).

14. Read (iç)ârê rabuti; âru being a good Semitic word.

15. Not only e-ri-nu, but also šur-me-nu cypress, is a Semitic word, not borrowed from the Akkadian, as I shall show before long.

17. lamassi lête zazâte I reserve for another paper.

18. (abnu) askuppât<sup>20</sup> (Abel, askuppi) agurri *Einfassungsschellen* (Harper; DW. 107); to this Abel objects, translating "lintels made of brick." Abel's objection to agurru = enclosure, encasement, is unfounded. agurru does not mean primitively "brick," but a wall, and then an outer wall; sun-dried bricks were used for inside walls and burnt bricks for outside walls; later on, the latter were called agurru.

19. Abel and others write (abnu) parātu for (TAG) GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL. This is wrong; the giš-šir-gal is not the Akkadian equivalent of parutum; all that we can say, is, that it must have been a stone of white, shining color; the ideograms do not allow us to draw any other inference.<sup>20</sup> (abnu) AN-BU-TIR has, of course, to be corrected into (abnu) AN-ŠE-TIR = ašnan-stone; AV. Nos. 825 and 8351; Brünnow, No. 7484; S. 997, 3 it is = aš-na-an; IV R. 13, 56, b KU AN-ŠE-TIR = ke-em aš-na-an; KU = kēmu (S<sup>b</sup> r, Col. III. 5, *ZK*. II. 31); also see IV. R. 2, 27 c; 14 (No. 3) 9; LT. 116; *ZK*. II. 56, rm. 1 and ZB. 99.

<sup>20</sup> We have two nouns for lintel:

a) askuppu, Neb. IX. 14; plur. askuppe, e.g. Ws. 72, 427 as-kup-pi (abnu) pili rabuti (cf. W. p. 201, Col. b) and

b) askuppatu: e.g. IV R. 31 27, b; W. 16, 57 a; askuptu Hr. 17, 282; c. st. as-kup-pat (aban pi-i-lu) ZA. III. 816, 80; II R. 18, 49, cf. W. 50 and 58; ZA. IV. 374, rm. 2; plur. askup-pâte. It is the Hebr. *קִפְפָּה*, Syr. *ܩܦܦܐ* (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, p. 127), Arab. *أسكفة*; and is derived from the verb *sakapu*, *سكط*, to throw down, to lay down. *p* in Hebrew and Syriac arose under the influence of the preceding sibilant; notice also the peculiar form as-ku-pit-u, DL. 80, 8; AV. 588.

<sup>21</sup> The (aban) GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL is mentioned in IV R. 64, 69 a = (aban) ZA-GIN-NA (W. I, b); abnu GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL eb-bi, Ws. 84, 202; abnu G. Ašm. I. 96 (*KB*. I. 66 sq.); also Hr. 81, 26; šād (aban) G. sa-an-ti ug-ni-i kati-ia u-ma-al-[II], II R. 19, 48, b; also V R. 6, 49 (*KB*. II. 206); Pinches in S. A. Smith's *Texts*, I. 110; V R. 44, 50 cd II šamaš is called AN GIŠ-ŠIR (cf. *ZK*. II. 381, rm. 1); V R. 11, 37, abc, GIŠ-ŠIR = nu-u-ru (DL. 127, 86); also II R. 8, 8-10; 60, 67; II R. 81, 87 we have ŠIR-GUL-LA = E-ŠIR-GAL-AN-NA = bit ša ŠIR-PUR-LA-KI. From all these instances we can infer, that the (abnu) G. = (abnu) II šamaš rabi or (abnu) nāri rabi (II R. 28, 42 c); but this does not warrant the reading parātu, cf. DW. p. 51 (No. 38, rm. 8) and Brünnow, No. 1667 etc. Parātu occurs in II 67, 80 (abnu) pa-ru-tu; also Ws. 72, 421 (not 442 as Winckler has in his index); W. 128, 180 (= *KB*. II. 76); V R. 30 59 gh we have pa-ru-tum, but the Akkadian equivalent is, by no means, GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL!

20. The (abnu) KU- ("I would read TUR-MI-NA; cf. Nebuchad. E. L. H." Harper) MI-NA (this and not Kumina) is mentioned V R. 30, 61, as (abnu) šam-ê.

21. On (abnu) EN-GI-ŠAH see Brünnow, No. 2847; V R. 30, 67, gh; KAT.<sup>2</sup> 30; Hr. 39, 124.

22. (abnu) hi-li-bu is said to be = (abnu) ZA-GIN, V R. 30, 66 gh = ugnû; cf. BAS. I. 506 sq.

23. Render: *the place of their* (not its) *production*.

32. I prefer to read with Harper and Dg. § 65 (No. 35) bitanni = *a palace* Hebr. בִּיתָנִי; the whole sentence should read as follows: bittannu (= bitannu) ša 95 ina išten ammat rabītim arkat (perm.); 31 ina išten ammat rabītim rapšat (perm.); on ammatu rabītu see ZA. IV. 265.

38-47 See Guy. § 95.

40. urattâ bâbeša, cf. KB. II. 235 (V R. 10, 10); I R. 44, 70.

42. BAS. I. 278.

49. (erini) šu-te-mu-du-ti would be a form like šutemuḫu II R. 39, 66 and 68 cd; Sc. 74; šuteḫû (edict) Hr. 30, 697; V R. 21, 31, ab; šutatû, ZA. I. 456; šutetuḫu, V R. 36, 52 f; ZB. 14; šutešuru, Bors. 32, a; HN. 24. 5; IV R. 5, 60; also V R. 1, 50; ZA. III. 314, 67; Senn. VI. 28; IV R. 12, 20. Strassmaier and others read ina ḫatê mudûti, *with the hands of my wisdom*.

50. ana mul-ta-u-ti be-lu-ti-a, *for the renown of my lordship* (Harper and Abel); it is evidently the same as ana mul-ta-'-ti-ja (KB. II. 23) translated by Schrader "*for a resting place* (?) (from na'alu (?)).

52-54. see also Jensen in ZK. II. 308; 54 (end) he reads u[kîn], but see Harper's AEI. p. 31.

53. a-ḫi-en-na-a, a form, which Abel cannot explain, is a compound of aḫû + enna (for anna, *this*).

## COL. VI.

4-6. See my remarks before Am. Or. Soc. (Oct. '90).

13. (amelu) ur-ra-ku-ti are discussed by Jensen, Kosmologie, p. 323, rm. 1; Ws. 72, 429; the word is derived from erû, to engrave.

14. ad kirâ ġira, a magnificent park, or better (iç) sar-maḫ, cf. KB. II. 234 ad V R. 10, 104; Dg. p. 199 (below).

17. Read ma-gal (not rabiš) and compare ZB. 28, rm. 1; Pognon, Bav-ian, 36.

20. Read šuktu (Harper) not šuktu; it is a syn. of atabbu, canal; Dy. 143; Jensen, ZK. II. 60 = Hebr. שִׁקְתָּ; Senn. Bav. 12 (KB. II. 116).

24. On the lulû see Jensen (KB. II. 234 ad V R. 10, 104).

25. ina kirbiša aḫrima I invited or called into it (Harper-Abel, follow-

ing Lyon ad *Sargon-stele*, l. 99) from a verb קרא, to call, to invite; but see Jensen ad Asrb. iv. 98 (*KB.* II. 195); akrî = *I entertained*; kirêtu *feast, banquet*.

30. The niḱê tašriḱte ebbuti are not merely *clean* (or *pure*) offerings, but victims of powerful strength and clean (Harper); for tašriḱtu see *ZK.* II. 347; *ZA.* II. 81. rm. 3; *BAS.* I. 284.

31. See *BAS.* I. 285.

32. Cf. Craig's *Dissert.* p. 25 (above) and read with Harper ik (not iḱ) tarabu.

35. ina ta-kul-ti u ki-ri-e-ti (Hebr. כרה) *HEBRAICA*, VI. 155.

36. *LT.* 178 ad *Tigl. Pil.* VII. 92; *LS.* p. 81; *BAS.* I. 323; also *ZA.* IV. 13, 28 and 228, 12.

38. u-ša-li-ḡa nu-pa-ar-šu-un, *I caused their hearts* (spirits) *to rejoice* (Harper); Abel simply: *I caused them to rejoice*. nuparu seems to be a form like nubalu, *Tigl. Pil.* VII. 57; u-ga-ru *field*, etc.; in *ZA.* IV. 241, 34 we have limmir nu-par-[šu]. Also *WS.* 74, 432; 130, 168 (= *KB.* II. 78, 168) and 156, 130.

39. amkira ḡurrašun; cf. Hommel in *ZDMG.* 32 ('78) 185; and Delitzsch in *LCB.* ('81) 735; from צרר, to enclose.

40. Ad šamnu ḡu-la-a see *V R.* 65, 53; *ZK.* II. 344, rm. 1; *ZB.* 98; *ZA.* III. 170-173; *BAS.* I. 323 and *HEBRAICA*, VI. 155, rm.; ḡu-lu-u = ra-bu-u *II R.* 13, 22-23; *AV.* 1721; *HT.* 59, 12 and 15; *IV R.* 18, 12, b.

42. ina tûb šêri, c. st. of tûbbu, like tur (gimilli) from turru; nuḡ (libbi) from nuḡḡu (*ZA.* IV. 274sq.) and ḡu-ud libbi, c. st. of ḡuddû, as ti-ik (*KB.* II. 116) from tekû, תכה; tib from tebû (e. g. tib taḡaziḡa *V R.* 2, 36, etc.); read kabitti (not kabatti and compare *V R.* 1, 64; *ZB.* 29, 43sq., Hebr. כבד, Arab. كَبَدَ); c. st. kabtat.

46. The ZAG-MUK-KU is treated by Oppert in *GGA.* ('84) 335 and Flemming, *Neb.* p. 37; Amiaud, *ZA.* III. 41. Pognon, *Wadi-Brissa*, 73, 88sqq.; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 84sqq.; *ZA.* V. 123sq.; zammuku = rêš šatti, *I R.* 60, 56 b, just as E-ZI-DA = bît kênû (*IR.* 66, 38, c) and KI NAM-TAR-ENE = parak šimâti (*IR.* 60, 54, b); also *Dg.* p. 199, § 73, rm.

48. be-li unûṭ taḡazi are *weapons*, the implements of war; thus the u-na-at libbi (*V R.* 61, 26, e, left untranslated in *BAS.* I. 275) are the implements for the interior.

49. Instead of gimir unmâni, as Harper, read gimir ummanâte with Abel-Winckler.

49. Read liš-tab-ru-u with Harper, against Abel's lištapru, which, according to his translation, he considers an Ipht'âl of šaparu!

CYLINDER B (III R. 15-16). BY HUGO WINCKLER (*KB.* II. 140-152).

## COLUMN I.

1. See Harper, *AEI.* p. 32, *bel.*

3. Harper *l. c.* 32 says I read *ni-pi-sa* (so Pinches also). *DL.* 117, 7 reads *ni-pi-ir*; *HEBRAICA*, ('87) 148 he adopts Delitzsch's reading.<sup>31</sup>

6. Why not translate literally *I raised my hand (in prayer(?))* (as Harper does).

10. *One day, two days* ul uḫ-ḫi-pa pa-an, *I did not turn around.* Is not this clearly a mistake for uḫ-ḫi pa-an, the pa being repeated by mistake? So at least according to Harper and all others, e. g., *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* (Oct. '87) xxxv.,<sup>32</sup> ul uḫ-ḫi (Arab. وقع) *I waited not.*

11. Correct Winckler after Harper's translation: *the rear (of my army) I did not see*; 11 b means *the attendance of the horses, the harnessing of the chariots.*

12. Winckler felt that ul before un ūt taḫazi was out of place; and if his reading nāš (c. st. of naš ū) can be established it would be a decided improvement. Harper says nothing about the possibility of reading nāš.

13. a-šu-šur = ašur; see Harper, and my note on *Senn.* v. 30.

14. ḡi-ṭi-it girrê'a ul ašpuk. Winckler, *my field-tents(?) I did not pitch*; but read with Harper, ḡidēt girri'a ul ašpuk *provisions for my campaign I did not heap up.*

14. Read rag-gu for šalgu and see Harper and *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* (Oct. '87) xxxv.; my translation of this passage is given in my note on *Senn.* iv. 75 sq.

15. Read kima (iqḡūru) si-si-en-ni, so Harper; *BAS.* I. 167, 324; *HEBRAICA*, VI. 154.

16. Winckler ana sa-ḫap; Harper ana sa-kap.

18. Speaking of Hani-gal-bat *ZA.* v. 177 rm. 1 says "the reading rab for G.A.L. never occurs;" this applies also to Col. IV. 20 (*KB.* II. 146).

20. u-šal-lu kakkešunu: Winckler *and brandished their weapons*; Harper, *and forced a battle*; u-šal-lu stands for ušālu, for uša'lu (ושאלו) and is the present of the P<sup>er</sup>el, cf. iš-al in Col. II. 11; and my note on *Senn.* v. 49. *ZA.* v. 306 translates *und zogen die Waffen.*

21. Winckler omits to translate dannī, *of my mighty (battle)*; e-mu-u mah-ḫu-ur, Winckler: *and they were affrighted*; so he reads after Hommel,

<sup>31</sup> ni-pi-ir, would be c. st. to a noun nīpru, from eperu, غفر to cover, *HEBRAICA*, I. 178, rm. 1, etc. *Asn.* XII. 39 (*KB.* I. 100) we read ina kipina ni-pi-ri lu iḡbat, translated by Peiser, in *Kipina hatte er eine gedeckte Stellung(?) genommen*; another ni-ip-ru occurs II R. 22. 61; 30, 49; 38, 49 cd = ma-a-ru (son) and 58, ab = iḡli-li-du (גלילי) child; V R. 26, 26 gh sq. = zīpu, stalk, *Dr.* 83; which latter is = il-tum (ילתום) II. 23, 7.

<sup>32</sup> uḫ-ki-pa occurs *KB.* II. 208 (below). ukkipa adannu = ūme imlū *the time became full.* uḫ-ku-pu = to happen, II R. 48, 6 cd; V R. II, 19 c we read a-ḫip-pu, compared to Hebr. הקץ heel, but *Ht.* 112, 19 shows that we have to read a-ḫa-bu, which according to *Dw.* 318 means to attack (הקבץ).

*Geschichte*, p. 689, rm. 2; Hommel, *ibid.*, translates: *they made front*. It is amusing to notice that V R. 1, 84, which passage is referred to for the reading maḥ-ḥu-ur, reads il-li-ka maḥ-ḥu-tiṣ, in Jensen's contribution (*KB.* II. 160; also see *KB.* II. 238, 19); maḥḥutu means *defeat* and illika or êmu maḥḥutiṣ = *he was defeated, or was considered defeated*.<sup>32</sup>

22-26. see also *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* (Oct. '87) xxxv.

26. Dr. Harper writes to me, that the translation of line 26 has been omitted through a mistake of the printer. Winckler asks, who stood around Esarhaddon(?) the gods or the troops.(?) There can be little doubt that ittanasḥaru refers to ina puḥriṣunu iḫbû, which evidently means, the men in the enemy's army. After iḫbu (26) I would suggest a repetition of annû ṣar-ani.

## COL. II.

1. ituk could also be read mut-tuḫ and this a byform of mutaku, *road, way*. For the following, compare Babylonian Chronicle, Col. III. 39 sqq. (*KB.* II. 282-3).

3. Read ṣalaṭ Uruk (Harper).

4. nîtu ilme, see my note on Senn. v. 13; also V R. 5, 76; II R. 35, 9 ab = daḡatû; 36, 7 ab = tu-ku-un-tum; ni-i-tum (ša la-me-e) V R. 21 cd; nî'u = zumû; cf. also II R. 24, 45; V R. 21, 44; 29, 24; 41, 61.

7. ṭa-biṣ uṣeṣibuni, *they had graciously seated me*; better *firmly* (Harper) or *well*. Cf. V R. 1, 44; Marduk ṣa ṭabiṣ iḥbanû, *who hath been well created*, Z.A. v. 57, 2; also *ib.* 59, 13; IV R. 18, 35; Tigl. Pil. VIII. 62.

9. Translate, *that one did not fear, did not willingly desist and did not leave my servant in peace*. Cf. ana epiṣ (bîti elli) a-ḥi la-a ad-du-u, Tigl. Pil. VIII. 20, (*KB.* I. 44 sq.); V R. 64, 38 a la eḡi la aṣit aḥi la addu *I did not tire* (Y'), *did not withdraw, did not desist*. Also see DP. 139 sq.

11. ṣulma or ṣulum ṣarruti'a ṣa'alu means *to pay respects to my royal majesty*, cf. V R. 7, 89, etc.

14. (amelu) piḥâti ṣa pâti (as Harper) not piḥûti ṣa pâti.

17. mamit eteḡu does not mean to *transgress, violate an oath*; translate: *on account of the oath of the great gods, which he had taken* (in former days and now transgressed), Aṣur etc. *laid upon him a heavy punishment* (Harper's translation of annu is good). Also Hebr. יָצַח means *sin*, and *punishment* (Isa. v. 18); cf. V R. 8, 10 (*KB.* II. 216 sq., where Jensen has the correct rendering).

21. epṣet Elamti ṣa.....e-tep-pu-ṣu (Harper) not i-tib-bu-ṣu (Winckler).

<sup>32</sup> Amlaud's articles (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, II. 11, etc.) should be known to every Assyriologist; also see Zn. 70; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 838 sq.; DL. 96, 6; B.A.S. I. 13, 8 and 814.



23. u-*gal-la-a* *belu-ti*: Winckler and others: *he besought my lordship*; I believe that we have to render (his brother came to Assyria) *and asked for the government* (of Elam). Then follows: *I entrusted to him the mât tam-dim* (cf. *KB.* II. 282, 39) *in its whole extent*. I should like to know where in Assyrian literature the meaning "dominion" for *ridûtu*, is warranted; all the passages, which I know, show that it has to do with the harem. I believe that *ridûtu* and *bît ridûtu* can be used promiscuously, and translate *ridûtu aḫiṣu* *the harem of his brother*; the harem must have been of great importance, and therefore special mention is made thereof.

29. *galtu* is a syn. of *rašbu*, *terrible*, cf. *HN.* 60, 7 and 8; *Neb.* VI. 45; *IV R.* 26, 49 a (*ZK.* I. 315, rm. 1); *II R.* 24, 62 gh, we have *agû galtu* (*the raging flood*), followed by *agû nâri* (for *namri*, from *namaru*, to be fierce, like *ûmu na'ri* = *fierce animal*, *V R.* 46, 43, ab) and *agû elû*, *high flood*; *galatu* is = *nadaru* to be furious.

30. *maḥaz tuk-la-ti-šu* is neither the principal city, nor the city of his confidence, but *his garrison, the city of his troops*.

### COL. III.

Cf. *Cyl. A*, Col. II. 6. Winckler might well have followed Harper's example, and supplied the preceding words, for the sake of the context.

5. Read *ti* (not *di-ḫi*); *bar-ḫa* might be *maš-ḫa* [at] and mean *the country, which measures* (i. e. extends) *to the neighborhood, borders of Tabal*.

10. Why not read with Harper *ina išâti aḫmu*?

12. *la išû*, means here *they had not committed*, (so Harper); *išû* means as well to *have*, as to *be*.

23. *pa-riḫ* (not *rik-ti*).

### COL. IV.

8. *udure* are *dromedaries*.

24. *HEBRAICA*, VI. 154, Harper says "Winckler has accepted the reading of Pinches," but not entirely. Winckler reads *at-ta-di* while Harper-Pinches *aš-ta-di*. I prefer *at-ta-di* from *nadû*; instead of *gu-* read *ḫu-ra-de-šu-nu*.

26. Harper adds [*p-par-ši-du*] *had fled*; and then connect with *Cyl. A*, Col. III. 42.

### COL. V.

1 sq. cf. *Cyl. A*, IV. 49 sqq. and Harper's edition of *Cyl. B*.

7. *ni-ru šu-a-tu* should be read *aš-ru šuatu* according to Harper; cf. also *KB.* II. 134, note; Pinches (*AEI*) seems to favor *ni-*, but that would give no sense, while Harper's reading suits the context.

8. See my remarks before the *Am. Or. Soc.* (Oct. '90).

11. It is strange that Cyl. A reads eli-ša! ušraddi.

12sq. See *Rec. Past.* III. 107; *Dy.* 273; *KAT.*<sup>2</sup> 336 sq.; 354 sqq.; Bezold, *Literatur*, 105, No. 2; etc.

19. I R. 48 (No. 1), 7 reads correctly XII.

# COL. VI.

13. Read ana arkat (not arkût).

16. I R. 47, 64 b distinctly reads mu-ša-ru-u (var. šar-u); V R. 23, 19 reads mu-ša-ru; it means *signature*, and is explained by šiṣir šumiša; its etymology is discussed in *ZK.* I. 268 sq.; *ZK.* II. 16 and 425; also cf. *Dy.* 142, No. 38; *Guy. Notes*, § 59; *ZK.* II. 353; *DG.* p. 198 sq.

19. Translate, *so do thou as I did, and look after my signature* (Harper); where does Winckler get his niḵ-ki(?)? read iḵi (with Harper).

20. Read itti mu-šar-e (Harper); 21 *then will* (not may) *A. and I hear thy prayers.*

*KB.* II. 151, No. 1 of the smaller inscriptions, l. 4, Muṣur is מִצְרַיִם *Lower Egypt*, and Pa-tu-ru (so, according to Schrader *KGF.* 285, rm. 1) -si is *Pathros*: פְּתָרוֹס *Isa.* x. 11 = Παθούρως; while Kuš is *Ethiopia*.

Some notes on the Black Stone (I R. 49) and on Asurbanipal (V R. 1-10 = *KB.* II. 152 sqq.) will be published in a future number of *HEBRAICA*; a review of the second half of *KB.* III. is found in *American Journal of Philology*, XI. No. 4.

## CORRECTIONS TO VOL. VII, NO. 1.

Page 58, 17 read Hāl; ad makkuru see *BAS.* I. 631; 62, 27 אֲשַׁכֶּרֶע; 66, 30 read "see ad Col. V. 83, and compare the הֲשַׁכֶּרֶע of I Kings VII. 33"; 68, 72 Aram. חֲקַר; 69 rem. 39 עָנָא = צִאָּן.

## THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION. III. GEN. 37:2-EX. 12:51.

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B. Ex. 1:1-12:51.

### SECTION XIII. EX. 1:1-7:7.

#### The Divine Names.

Elohim and Jehovah are here used with the same discrimination that we have found to characterize their employment throughout the Book of Genesis. Elohim is appropriate 1:17,21 in the phrase "feared God" as a general term for piety, compare Gen. 20:11; 22:12, the article being added **האלהים** as Gen. 24:18, to indicate that this pious fear was directed to the true God; 1:20 of providential benefits; 2:23-25 where the contrast is between human oppressors of Israel and God who espoused their cause; 3:1 and 4:27 the mountain of God as the scene of a divine revelation, compare 18:6; 4:16 and 7:1 Moses is instead of God as an organ of divine communication; 4:20 the rod of God as an instrument of divine power, compare 17:9. In ch. 3 God reveals himself to Moses as Jehovah, and during this interview the two names are interchangeably employed; thenceforth Jehovah is regularly used (with the exceptions above mentioned, which are for special reasons) until 6:2,3, where God again makes himself known as Jehovah, promising to Moses in his despondency such a manifestation of what this name involved as had never been witnessed before.

#### A. The Portion Assigned to J.

The bulk of the narrative is as in Genesis given to JE, and the attempt is made to bridge the chasm thus created and produce the semblance of continuity for P by arbitrarily assigning to it a few scattered verses, sundered from their proper connection. In all this the critics repeatedly set at naught their own criteria as well as violate the evident proprieties of the case. The alleged peculiarities of language, style, material and theology are purely fictitious, resulting directly from the division made in this closely connected and regularly unfolding narrative, and do not in any way suggest diversity of authorship.

#### 1. Chapter 1:1-5, 7, 13, 14.

The list of Jacob's sons 1:1-5 is a brief recapitulation of the more detailed account, Gen. 46:8-27, some of whose peculiar expressions it retains, while never-

theless the order of the names is modified into conformity with the like list, Gen. 35:23-26. By almost unanimous critical consent these three enumerations are alike referred to P, which is an admission that the same writer may have occasion to repeat statements before made; and that such repetitions may be no indication of distinct sources. And even though with Kayser, Gen. 46:8-27 and Ex. 1:5a be imputed to R to escape critical embarrassments (which others try to evade by claiming that Gen. 46:8 sqq. has been worked over by R), the identity of Gen. 35:23 sqq. and Ex. 1:1-4,5b remains. Knobel claims Ex. 1:6 for P along with the rest of the paragraph, vs. 1-7, to which it belongs; but as this verse manifestly prepares the way for vs. 8 sqq., the majority of critics cut it out of its connection and attribute it to E, notwithstanding the fact that a previous record of the death of Joseph is also ascribed to him, Gen. 50:26. Verse 7 is also given to P, though he is reputed to have already stated the vast multiplication of the children of Israel in Egypt, Gen. 47:27. And yet immediately after having thus three times in succession referred two statements of the same thing to one writer, the critics gravely affirm that 1:12a is a doublet of 1:7 and 1:11 of vs. 13,14 (HEBRAICA, VI., p. 27), and must consequently be traced to different documents, though each verse is precisely in place in the plan of this admirably constructed chapter.

The enormous increase of the Israelites is depleted 1:7 by heaping together four synonymous verbs, and adding a duplicated intensive adverb. The critics have taken offence at this unusual combination, which is plainly due to the effort to give adequate expression to this most extraordinary case. Nöldeke would erase וַיַּעֲצֹמוּ וַיִּשְׂרְצוּ, Wellhausen and Dillmann וַיִּרְבוּ וַיַּעֲצֹמוּ only, as

insertions from a parallel narrative. But פָּרַח, רָבַח, and שָׂרַץ are combined in P, Gen. 8:17; 9:7. The verb עָצַם occurs but once in the Pentateuch outside of this chapter, viz., Gen. 26:16, J; so, as Jülicher confesses, there is no reason why it should not here belong to P. רָבַח and עָצַם are joined together, Num. 22:1a P, and nowhere else in the Pentateuch except in this chapter and in Deuteronomy.

The immense number of Israelites, v. 7, is in obvious contrast to their fewness when they entered Egypt, vs. 1-5, and is the necessary explanation of all that follows, vs. 8-22, the perplexity of the king of Egypt and the stern measures adopted for their repression. The very words of v. 7 are alluded to v. 9 (רָב) (וַיַּעֲצֹמוּ) and v. 20 (וַיִּרְבוּ וַיַּעֲצֹמוּ מְאֹד). The whole chapter is thus solidly bound together, and no room left for the critical assumption that this latter portion is from a different document.

Four measures of growing severity were successively employed to oppress the Israelites and reduce their strength. 1. Taskmasters were set over them, v. 11. 2. As this proved abortive, v. 12, their bondage was intensified, and they were made to serve with rigor, vs. 13,14. 3. The midwives were commanded to destroy the male children of the Hebrews, vs. 15,16. 4. As this did not succeed, vs. 17-21, a like command was given by Pharaoh to all his people, v. 22. The regular progression in these cruel expedients shows that they form a continuous series. The

critics, however, sunder out one of the number and arbitrarily assign it to a different document from the rest. The allegation, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 28, that "1:18 sq. would logically come before 1:11" is a mistake, since the expressions of the former are more intense and so mark a more advanced stage. However "absurd" it may have been "for them to try the same means again," which had failed before, it is just what persecutors have always done. Why "in this case there would be no ground left for the command to destroy the infants" it is hard to see; after exhausting other expedients the king resorts to this barbarous measure. Verses 13, 14 are, moreover, equally bound to the different documents, to P by "rigor" twice **פָּחַד** in Pentateuch besides only Lev. 25:43, 46, 53, to J by "made bitter" **וַיַּמְרֹר** in Pentateuch only besides Gen. 49:23, while "in brick" plainly points forward to the narrative Ex. 5:7 sqq. J (Well.) E (Dill.), an allusion which the critics seek to evade by erasing the unwelcome word with its adjuncts.

## 2. Chapter 2:23b-25.

The entire narrative between 1:14 and 6:2 is given by the critics to J or E and a shift made to fill the resulting gap in P by assigning to it 2:23b-25, though these verses are indispensable in the connection in which they stand and it is not even pretended that they contain a single word characteristic of P. And "the covenant with Isaac" is a clear reference to J, Gen. 26:2-5, 24; no such covenant is mentioned in any passage assigned by the critics to P. **אלהים** affords no ground for division, since that is the only name of God which has thus far occurred in Exodus.

The suggestion, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 28, that 2:23a "is out of place," is entirely unfounded. It "does mean that the new king (of 1:8), the severe king died," and cannot mean anything else. But it is neither said nor implied that "the children of Israel groaned over it;" they sighed by reason of the bondage, which did not terminate with his death. Verses 23-25 are preliminary to God's revelation of himself to Moses, ch. 3, and commissioning him to deliver Israel. Two facts are stated to prepare the way for what is to follow. 1. The king of Egypt was dead: it was hence a favorable juncture for Moses to return and espouse the cause of Israel, cf. 4:19. 2. God heard the groans of Israel and remembered his covenant with their fathers; it may consequently be expected that he would interfere on their behalf. With explicit reference to the language here used God reveals himself to Moses, 3:6, and through him to the people, 3:15, 16, as the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob, cf. 2:24. He adds, v. 7, "I have surely seen" (cf. 2:25 **וַיֵּרָא**), "and have heard their cry" (**צַעֲקָתָם**), cf. 2:24 **וַיִּשְׁמַע**; v. 23 **וַיִּזְעַקוּ**). "I know" (cf. 2:25 **וַיֵּדַע**);\* v. 9, "the cry of the children of Israel is come unto me," cf. 2:23. If these verses are

\* In consequence of the coincidences in expression between 2:25 and 3:7, Jülicher feels constrained to refer the former not to P but to R.

assigned to a different document from ch. 8, then God speaks in the latter of having heard his people's cry, and yet there is no previous mention of their having cried to him.

### 3. Chapter 6:2-7:7.

From 2:25 the critics spring at once to 6:2, claiming that this is the true original connection in P, and that all that intervenes is from another source. This is urged upon the following grounds:

1. If 6:2 be joined directly with 2:25, the narrative will be continuous and the sense perfect.

2. 6:2 sqq. is full of references to 2:23-25, showing their intimate mutual relation.

3. 6:2-7:7 is a parallel and independent account of what had already been fully and somewhat variously related before.

4. The representation made in this section differs from that previously given in certain striking and characteristic particulars.

But these arguments do not prove what they are adduced to prove.

As to the first point, the seeming continuity of the narrative, if 3:1-6:1 be omitted.

(1) This is very far from showing that 2:25 was originally connected with 6:2. Distant paragraphs can often be fitted to one another by a little ingenuity so that a reader would not be aware that they did not belong together. This is especially the case with paragraphs, which, as in the present instance, record successive stages in the same transaction.

(2) The connection is perfectly good as the section now stands; there is no incongruity or want of appropriateness in its present position and no reason for seeking to attach it elsewhere.

(3) Moses is suddenly introduced 6:2, and Aaron 6:13, with no previous intimation of their existence and no explanation who they were. This incongruity created by the removal of the very account (ch. 2 sqq.) here presupposed, gives rise to new critical assumptions. Kuenen fancies that P had spoken of Moses and Aaron in some passage which has not been preserved. Kayser gets rid of the allusion to Aaron by referring 6:13-30 to R. Dillmann declines to do this, but with a like view of finding the first mention of Aaron in 7:1 he transposes 6:30-7:5 before 6:13 and places 7:6 immediately after it. Wellhausen undertakes to supply the missing mention of Moses and Aaron by the conjecture that the account of their ancestry (6:16 sqq.) may originally have preceded 6:2, while in its present position and extent as including Aaron's wife and children (vs. 23 sqq.) the genealogy is in his judgment inappropriate and a later addition. The allegation, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 27, "P knows nothing of Moses' marriage, though mentioning the wives of Aaron and Eleazar," is simply a reluctant confession that this table of lineage intentionally omits what had already been recorded, 2:21,



thus proving itself to be of one piece with the antecedent history. The appositeness of the entire genealogy, every clause of which is in analogy with those previously given, further appears from the fact that it not only introduces Aaron and Moses, who are just entering upon the momentous task assigned them, but likewise Korah, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, Ithamar, and Phinehas, who are to figure in the subsequent history. This is in precise accordance with the invariable usage of the Pentateuch from the beginning, in which the line of descent of all the prominent actors is scrupulously traced. Nöldeke confesses the suitability of the table in general, but stumbles at the sons of Reuben and Simeon (vs. 14,15) as here uncalled for, and in his opinion an interpolation. Jülicher very properly replies that an interpolator would not have stopped with inserting these two names only, when there was an equal reason for adding all the rest of Jacob's sons. In fact there is a suitability in vs. 14,15 standing where they do to indicate Levi's place as the third in age in his father's family, as is conceded, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 27. Jülicher proposes to relieve the suddenness of the mention of Moses in 6:2 by transposing before it the entire genealogy with 6:13 as its title, which will thus connect directly with 2:25; although this would place "Jehovah" in 6:13 prior to what he considers the first revelation of this name in 6:2,3. But after all this self-imposed trouble and these fruitless conjectures of the critics, it is difficult to see why the reasons, be they what they may, which led an imaginary R to give to this whole passage its present position, may not have been equally influential with the original writer. This busy tinkering merely betokens a weak spot, which needs in some way to be covered up.

As to the second critical allegation that 6:2sq. contain several verbal allusions to 2:23-25, it is freely admitted that God's hearing the groaning of the children of Israel and remembering his covenant, and the bondage, 6:5 refer to 2:23, 24. This shows that these passages are in intimate and designed relation to each other, but not that they were continuous. The language of 6:2-4 is still more closely conformed to that of Genesis, ch. 17, to which there is explicit reference and repeated verbal correspondence; but it does not follow from this that they belong in immediate juxtaposition or that violent critical methods are to be resorted to with the view of bringing this about.

The third allegation of the critics that 6:2sq. is a parallel account of the same transaction already recorded 3:1 sq., is assumed not only without proof but in defiance of clear proof to the contrary. And this baseless assumption is the principal ground of the partitions here made.

(1) It is universally confessed that the connection in which this paragraph now stands and the manner in which it is related show that the author of the book understood this to be a distinct event from any that had been narrated before, and intended that it should be so regarded by his readers. The critics are consequently obliged to assume that R with all the sources in their primitive form

before him held this view which they are able to correct with simply the materials which he has left them.

(2) There are certain features of resemblance between the two transactions, but the time, place and attendant circumstances are different. Here the critics most unwarrantably urge the points in common in proof that they are the same event, and then parade the points of disagreement in evidence that these are variant and inconsistent accounts from different writers, who followed distinct traditions. In reality they only succeed thus in overthrowing their own argument. The discrepancies simply show that the events are, as the writer himself believed and represented, separate occurrences. And the respects, in which they agree, are such as might easily be repeated on successive occasions. It is neither inconceivable nor improbable that God should repeat to Moses, when dejected by the ill success of his first application to Pharaoh, the same assurances that had been given him when first called to this work, that he would make himself known to them as Jehovah, and fulfil the covenant made with their fathers and bring them out of the bondage of Egypt to the land of Canaan. On the contrary this is the most natural thing in the world, and just what might be expected under the circumstances. That he should repeat this to the people, 6:9, and that Aaron who had been made his spokesman unto the people, 4:16, should now be appointed his coadjutor before Pharaoh, 7:1,2 is also a matter of course. All this warrants no suspicion that there is here a fresh recital of what had been related before. Any history whatever could be discredited and endless confusion introduced into it, if on the ground of superficial resemblances distinct events were thus to be identified.

The fourth critical argument from the diversity of representation in this and the preceding section has already been substantially answered so far as statements of facts are concerned, by showing that it indicates not difference of authorship but a difference in the events recorded.

(1) The critics will have it that according to P, God's first revelation to Moses of his purpose to deliver Israel was made not in Midian, nor in the wilderness, but in Egypt, 6:28; and that P knows nothing of Moses having been up to this time anywhere else than in Egypt. It would be better to say that according to the critical partition Moses' previous history is an absolute blank in P; he neither knows where Moses has been nor what he has done, until suddenly and without explanation he comes into view in this transaction. There is no intimation that he had spent all his life in Egypt, nor that this was the first revelation made to him. The contrary seems to be implied in 6:28, where the Lord's speaking to Moses *in the land of Egypt* suggests a contrast with what he had spoken to him elsewhere. The simple fact, uncontradicted by any statement or implication in the whole narrative, is that God first appeared to Moses in Midian and summoned him to his work; he revealed himself to him again in Egypt after his unsuccessful appeal to Pharaoh.

(2) *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 28, "6:2sq. naturally means that God *introduces* himself to Moses as Yahweh, a name by which he has never before been known. But what does that mean in the face of 3:15? Would a writer forget himself so in the same section? Would he use such language and thus contradict a former statement?"

a. One would think that the very absurdity of their conclusions would lead the critics to reconsider their premises. No writer would so flatly contradict himself of course. Nor would any sensible Redactor. Can that interpretation of 6:3 be correct, which puts it in glaring and absolute contradiction with every previous passage in which the name Jehovah occurs? Is it conceivable that R, the presumed compiler of this great national history, used language in 6:3 which gives the lie to the whole antecedent portion of his work? that he in this verse uses language which means that the word Jehovah had never been heard nor uttered by the patriarchs, and yet in repeated passages before avers that it had been in constant use from the days of Eve and Enos downward? And yet the entire critical hypothesis is based on precisely this assumption.

b. It has before been shown, *HEBRAICA*, V., p. 187, that the critical interpretation of Ex. 6:3 is contradicted by the uniform meaning of the phrase in the mouth of God "know that I am Jehovah," which is used no less than twelve times in the immediately following chapters of Exodus with specific reference to the passage before us; it is contradicted likewise by the uniform usage of the phrase "to know the name of Jehovah" as found throughout the Scriptures. These expressions never denote an external acquaintance with the word Jehovah, but always a manifestation of the perfections of Jehovah in human experience. Such a manifestation should be accorded to the children of Israel under Moses as had never been witnessed by the patriarchs. The passage does not concern itself with the history of the word "Jehovah" and no inference can be drawn from it on this subject. Consequently it does not afford the slightest basis of conjecture that it once belonged to a document which sedulously avoided the use of the divine name Jehovah up to this point and thenceforth employed it.

c. But upon any interpretation of 6:3 there is no imaginable conflict between it and 3:15. Even if it meant that the word Jehovah was unknown to the patriarchs, there is no intimation or suggestion that it had not previously been made known to Moses. The charge of forgetfulness or selfcontradiction on the part of the writer is, therefore, on any view of the passage entirely gratuitous.

(3) *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 27, "From JE it would seem that Yahweh was known as the God of the patriarchs (3:15); in P this name is first revealed to Moses."

But according to all the critics 3:15 belongs to E; their uniform contention is that E in ch. 3 records the first revelation of the name Jehovah and they make this the basis of their assertion that it is parallel to ch. 6 and a narrative of the very same event by a different writer. On the critical hypothesis E and P alike

maintain that the name Jehovah was first revealed to Moses; so that even from this point of view the alleged conflict does not exist. But in truth neither ch. 3 nor ch. 6 concern themselves about the time when the word Jehovah first came into use; so that there is no room for any variance between them in respect to it.

(4) It is alleged that according to P, 6:9,12, the people in their dejection and distress would not hearken to Moses, whereas according to J, 3:18; 4:31 they believed his message.

But the seeming conflict is produced by the critics themselves, who confuse two separate occasions. When Moses first spoke to the people they believed; but when they found that the only result of his intervention was to increase their burdens, they would no longer hearken to him. Dillmann acknowledges that there is no contradiction here; that J or E must have given an account of the people's reception of the promise made in 6:1 and that R inserted 6:9 from that account.

(5) Other differences alleged, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 27, are quite trivial. "In J (3:7) and in E (3:9), God sees the oppression as well as hears their cry (that is, he is near); in P he only *hears*." But it is expressly said in P 2:25 that he sees (*נָּרָא*) as well as hears, 2:24; 6:5. "According to P, God listens to Israel simply because he remembered his covenant with the patriarchs; but in JE it is his compassion for their suffering." "Simply" is inserted without warrant; while the title "the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob," 3:6,15,16 JE shows his memory of his covenant. "P knows nothing of Moses' lack of faith; while the prophetic writers make much of it (3:11-13; 4:1-17)." But Moses' original reluctance to undertake his mission was overcome, 4:18; why should it be expected to reappear subsequently in ch. 6? And yet 6:12,30 does show something of the same shrinking and sense of personal unfitness as 4:10.

(6) It is further alleged that in JE 3:18, permission is sought to go three days' journey into the wilderness, while in P, 6:11, the demand made upon Pharaoh is that he let the children of Israel go unconditionally; in JE, 6:1, the king himself is to drive them out, while in P, 7:4, the Lord shall lead them forth without the king's permission; in JE, 4:22, Moses but in P, 7:2, Aaron is the speaker in the presence of the king. These points can best be reserved for future consideration.

The fifth critical argument for sundering 6:2-7:7 from the immediately preceding context is drawn from its language and style which is said to be that of P and in marked contrast with that of the previous section.

But (1) it should be noted that the characteristic expressions of 6:2-4 are all taken from Genesis, ch. 17. "Jehovah appeared unto Abraham;" "God Almighty," Gen. 17:1; "establish my covenant," v. 7; "give the land of Canaan, the land of their pilgrimage," v. 8. God known to Isaac and Jacob as God Almighty is with allusion to Gen. 28:3 and 35:11, both of which passages are also

based on Gen. 17. The repeated recurrence of these and other expressions drawn from Gen. 17 in combination does not indicate that the passages in which they are found are by a different writer from the rest of the narrative, who may be supposed always to employ them in preference to other equivalent phrases. These reminiscences of God's covenant with Abraham naturally clothe themselves in the very language of that great fundamental transaction, so momentous to him and to his descendants. But this does not prevent the same writer from using different forms of speech, when this particular transaction is not immediately in his thoughts.

(2) After 6:2-4, whose expressions are borrowed from Gen. 17, and v. 5\* which is similarly related to 2:23,24, the language is no longer purely such as is credited to P. Thus vs. 6,7 "burdens" סבלת; v. 6 "rid" הצייל; v. 8, "bring you into the land," the oath to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, lifting up the hand in token of an oath are all marks of JE, and "heritage" מורשה which occurs but once beside in the Hexateuch, is not the word that would be expected in P. With these are blended other expressions said to be characteristic of P as v. 6, "bondage" עברה (but see Gen. 29:27; 30:26; Ex. 5:9,11 JE), "with a stretched out arm," for which JE has v. 1 "with a strong hand" (but in Deuteronomy the same writer repeatedly uses both together); "judgments" (also 7:4 and but twice beside in Hexateuch); v. 7, "I will be to you a God" (a phrase borrowed from Gen. 17:7, and here joined with "I will take you to me for a people," which occurs nowhere else in P) and "ye shall know that I am Jehovah." These mixed criteria in vs. 6-8, freely used by the same writer, can only be accounted for by the critics as due to the manipulation of R, and according to Dillmann vs. 9-13 are also made up by R partly from P and partly from JE.

(3) This brings us to the genealogical table, vs. 14 sqq., which Kayser attributes not to P but to R, and Wellhausen only partly to P, alleging that R must have added Aaron's descendants, while Jülicher maintains that the table as originally prepared by P was fuller than it is at present, embracing descendants of all the sons of Jacob, and that a part of it was omitted by R. All insist that it has been displaced and put in an incongruous position. The oddest of all reasons for this displacement is that assigned, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 28, "in order to separate vs. 10-12 from 29 sq., which are practically identical;" as if it were not apparent that the language of vs. 10-12 is purposely repeated in 29 sq., in order formally to resume the subject interrupted by a brief digression. Dillmann gives the following account of the matter. In his opinion 7:1-5 is the proper answer given in P to the question of 6:12, and originally followed it immediately. But having inserted 9b and 12ba from J, R adds v. 13 as in sense if not in words the answer

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\* In 6:5 "groaning" נאנח is counted as belonging to P, though it occurs but once beside in the Hex. 2:24; so "God remembering," but it is found also in JE Gen. 30:22; Ex. 32:13.



given in J; whereupon not to confuse the accounts from his two sources he first inserts the genealogy vs. 12-27, and then returns to the subject by an insertion of his own, vs. 28-30, introducing Moses' objection and adding from P the Lord's answer, 7:1-5; "a procedure" he remarks, "which is very suggestive of the peculiar conscientiousness of R." This seems to mean that R religiously preserves distinct whatever is contained in his sources, even when as in this instance one simply states in a summary form, 6:18, what the other gives in more detail, 7:1-6. How is it then that this same R, according to the critics, has left such serious gaps in his sources elsewhere in even the most important matters, as we have seen in repeated instances? All this critical manipulation shows that the critics are very far from being united in opinion in respect to this genealogy, though in fact it is just where and what it should be.

Dillmann very properly rebukes the prevalent notion among the critics that any degree of incongruity is sufficiently accounted for by charging it upon an interpolation or referring it to R. Why should an interpolator or redactor be imagined to have no sense of propriety? When the decisive point is reached that Moses and Aaron receive their final commission to Pharaoh, the writer pauses to trace their line of descent, then resumes his subject and proceeds as before. No more appropriate place could be found, nor one in better accord with the general plan of the work. There is accordingly no ground for the suggestion that this detailed account of Moses' parentage is by a different writer and one more familiar with his family history than the author of the general statement, 2:1. The particulars respecting his ancestry were purposely reserved until he assumed the leadership of Israel and confronted Pharaoh with his demands on their behalf.

(4) Even 7:1-7 is not free from difficulty for the critics, for one of J's words אָנָה sign occurs v. 3, which Dillmann thinks it necessary to eject and attribute to R.

All this goes to show that whenever the critics undertake to assign any continuous portion of the narrative to P, they find themselves in trouble.

#### 1. LANGUAGE OF P.\*

##### OLD WORDS.

(1) פֶּשַׁע = person, VI., p. 117. (2) פָּרָה וּרְבָה Sect. 9, Lang. of P. (3) מֵאֵר מֵאֵר V., p. 174 (7:19). (4) שָׂרָץ in J, Ex. 7:28. (5) אֱלֹהִים explained before. (6) אֵל שָׂרָי Sect. 5, Lang. of P. (7) הָקִים בְּרִית V., p. 174 (6:18). (8) אֵלֶּה מְשֻׁפָּחוֹת only in genealogical tables and hence uniformly referred to P. (9) תִּלְדוּת V., p. 152. (10) שְׁנֵי חַיִּי Sect. 5, Lang. of P. (11) לְמִשְׁפָּחוֹת V., p. 174 (8:18sq.).

##### NEW WORDS.

(1) יָצָא יָרָן in O. T. only Gen. 46:26; Ex. 1:5 P, for which Gen. 35:11 P has יָצָא יָרָן; under other circumstances the critics would have insisted that this was the mark of a different writer. (2) פָּרָךְ in Hexateuch only Ex. 1:12,14; Lev. 25:42,46,53. (3) יְהוָה explained before. (4) אִמְכֹת אִמְכֹת a genealogical term and as such always referred to P.

\* The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 26; the references are to previous explanations.



Knobel reckons among the marks of P עִיר שְׁפָתַי *of uncircumcised lips*, 6:12,30 which occurs nowhere else in the Hexateuch, nor even in the entire Bible. Other alleged marks of P are "Pharaoh, king of Egypt," 6:11,13,27,29, an emphatic combination, which occurs but four times in all the Hexateuch beside, Gen. 41:46; Ex. 14:8 (verses cut out of a JE connection and assigned to P) and Deut. 7:8; 11:3; elsewhere Pharaoh and the king of Egypt are freely interchanged 1:18,19; 5:4,5; 14:5. "The land of Canaan," 6:4, which nevertheless occurs at least fifteen times in JE in the Book of Genesis, 42:5, 7,13,29,32; 44:8; 45:17,23; 46:31; 47:1,4,13,14,15; 50:5 כֹּמֶת *one hundred*, 6:16,18; this construct form nowhere occurs in J or E, but even the absolute כֹּמֶת is only found in J, Gen. 6:8; 26:12 and in E Gen. 33:19; Josh. 24:32, unless con-

trary to the usual critical rule the record of Joseph's age, Gen. 50:23,26 and of Joshua, Josh. 24:29 are added; and in these instances the construct could not be used. מַצֵּי *host* applied to Israel, 6:26; 7:4; but both E, Gen. 21:22,32 and J, Gen. 26:26 use this word, and E speaks of Israel, Ex. 13:18 as equipped for war, and 14:19,20 a camp, implying that they were conceived of as an army. שָׁמַע with אֵל 6:9,12,30; 7:4, while in JE it is construed with בָּקוֹל or לְקוֹל 3:18; 4:1,8,9; 5:2; but J has אֵל שָׁמַע Gen. 16:11, and E, Gen. 30:17,22. The emphatic and somewhat pleonastic phrase, Ex. 7:3, "And Moses and Aaron did as the Lord commanded them, so did they": but a like phrase occurs 12:28 at the end of a J section from which the critics sunder it for no other reason than their own assumption that it always must belong to P.

## 2. STYLE.

It is easy to produce from the sections assigned to J and E parallels to all that is alleged of P in this respect, HEBRAICA, VI., p. 27 sq. How is P more "systematic" (1) in the "résumé of Jacob's family" 1:1-5 than J in Nahor's family, Gen. 23:20-24 or E in that of Keturah 25:1-4? (2) in "the use of אֱלֹהִים up to 6:3 and יְהוָה after it" (which is a mere assumption) than J in the use of Jacob up to Gen. 35:10 and Israel after it, as Dillmann claims? The systematic character of "the genealogy of Moses and Aaron" recognized in (3) and (4) and attributed to P is a sufficient reply to the cavils of critics respecting it.

How is P more "exact, numerical" in mentioning (1) "70 souls," 1:5, than J in 7 days and 40 days and 40 nights, Gen. 7:4, or E in 200 she-goats, 20 he-goats, 200 ewes, 20 rams, 30 milch-camels, 40 kine, 10 bulls, 20 she-asses, 10 foals, Gen. 32:14 sq., or 2 wives, 2 handmaids and 11 children, v. 22? or (2) the age of Levi, (3) Kohath, (4) Amram, (5) Moses and Aaron, than E in that of Joseph, Gen. 50:22,26 and Joshua, Josh. 24:29, not to speak of Gen. 37:2; 41:46 which are torn from their connection in order to assign them to P? or (6) in the recurring genealogical formulae than J in the births recorded, Gen. 29:32-35?

P is called "rigid, stereotyped," because of the constant use of the same phrases "at the opening and closing" of genealogies and "summing up" each subdivision. Genealogies are mostly assigned by rule to P,\* so that there is small

\*The occurrence of יָלַד in certain genealogies and הוֹלִיד in others has been made a pretext for assigning the former to J and the latter to P. This was traced by Kurtz, as stated HEBRAICA, V., p. 188, to variations in the old genealogical registers themselves, from which Moses has given extracts. It is observable, however, that הוֹלִיד is invariably used in the main line of descent and יָלַד as invariably in the side lines; to this 10:24 is no exception as it is here the antecedent of v. 26, and 17:20 is not in a genealogy. The more dignified word seems thus to have been set apart for the former, and the less dignified restricted to the latter, which certainly has the look of purpose rather than accident and may be more naturally explained as intentional variation by one writer, than the chance commingling of different writers.

opportunity to compare JE in this respect, yet see Gen. 22:23b; 25:4b, and ch. 36, considerable portions of which are assigned to J, though the critics are in much perplexity and disagreement. JE, however, is equally marked by the frequent use of identical phrases elsewhere, e. g., bring them into a land flowing with milk and honey, unto the land of the Canaanites and the Hittites, etc., etc., 8:8,17; 13:5; 33:1-3; cf. also 23:23; Josh. 3:10; 24:11; "the land which he swore to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob," Gen. 50:24; Ex. 33:1; Num. 32:11; Deut. 34:4; cf. Ex. 18:5,11; 32:13; Num. 11:12; 14:23; Jehovah, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, Ex. 3:6,15, 16; 4:5; וִיקַר וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה "bowed the head and worshiped," Gen. 24:26,48; 48:28; Ex. 4:31; 12:27; 34:8; Num. 22:31; "not believe nor hearken to the voice," Ex. 4:1,8,9; "I will be with thy mouth and teach thee what thou shalt say," Ex. 4:12,15.

How is P more "verbose and repetitious," "(1) 1:1b," than E in Gen. 40:5a; 41:11,12? or "(2) 1:7" than the amplification of J in Gen. 15:18-21, or even Gen. 8:22? If "(3) 2:24a adds nothing to 23b," does 3:9 E add more to 3:7? If "(4) 2:25" and "(5) 6:4b are unnecessary," how is it with 5:5b after v. 4 E, or 4:10 "of a slow tongue" after "slow of speech" J? (6) Is Aaron's wife more minutely described than Nahor's wife by J, Gen. 11:29? "(7) either 6:26 or 27 is wholly unnecessary." This is a mistake: v. 26 states what the Lord said to Moses and Aaron, v. 27 what they said to Pharaoh.

### 3. MATERIAL.

The "duplicates," "inconsistencies," "cases in which R's work appears," and most of the "differences" have already been explained. It is sufficient to add that (1) and (2) of the "differences" are confessedly to be accounted for "as co-existing facts." (3) "In J (3:7) and in E (3:9) God sees, etc., in P he only hears;" this overlooks the explicit statement in P 2:25 and God saw רָאָה. (5) "According to JE, Israel is spoken of by God as his people (3:7,10); but in P, he is just about to make them his nation (6:7)." This again overlooks 6:4 P, "my people the children of Israel."

### 4. THEOLOGY.

If "(1) the cry of the suffering goes up to God, 2:23," P, so it does 3:9 E; if in J God "comes down," 3:8, a like condescension is implied elsewhere in P in God's dwelling in the midst of his people, Ex. 29:45,46, filling the tabernacle with his glory, Ex. 40:35, and going up from Abraham, Gen. 17:22 and from Jacob, Gen. 35:13 after conversing with them. And here God's delivering aid is granted, which in Scripture phrase is as far as possible from being "remote." (2) "He only hears of their suffering, 2:24," (this is not an adequate paraphrase of "hearing their groaning"); "JE he sees it as well 3:7,9," so he does in P, 2:25. (3) "He only speaks to Moses, 6:2,10; 7:1; in JE he appears visibly, 3:2 sq." This

like the other things alleged only results from the critical sundering of what belongs together. Even thus, however, God tells Moses, 6:3 P, that he had "appeared" to the patriarchs, but was about to make a more ample disclosure of himself to Israel. And when Moses spake "before the Lord," 6:12, P, there may be a suggestion of a visible manifestation, which seems to be corroborated by 5:22 "Moses returned unto the Lord."

"God's revelation is formal: (1) his compassion is due to a promise made to the patriarchs, 2:24; 6:4 sq." God's gracious love to Israel for their fathers' sake is equally implied in JE in his announcing himself to Moses and to the people as the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, 3:6 sqq. "There is no familiarity between him and Moses; he simply orders; there is no sign, no persuasion as in JE," In point of fact there is the same condescending grace to Moses in his discouragement 6:31-7:2, P, as in his initial timidity, 4:10-16, J, and God promises, 7:3 P, "to multiply his signs in the land of Egypt."

"There is no indication of anthropomorphism." "The covenant with the patriarchs is emphasized." If I am capable of judging, these two sentences are contradictory. "In the prophetic writers there is no mention of" this covenant. What then is meant by God's calling himself the "God of their fathers," 3:13, 15, 16; 4:5, or by Gen. 15:18 J or Gen. 50:24 E?

#### B. The Portion assigned to J and E.

A glance at the conflicting modes of division, which here prevail, as they are exhibited, *HEBRAICA*, VI., pp. 28 sq., 32, is sufficient to show the hopeless perplexity and confusion in which the critics find themselves. This is frankly confessed, *ibid.*, p. 35. (1) "It is freely admitted that the *prophetic* portion of this section does not show very distinctly, or even satisfactorily, a double authorship. (a) There are no duplicate stories (i. e., in a full form); (b) the language also is but a poor guide, owing probably to R's influence. [It is very convenient always to have R to throw the blame upon]. (c) Not even the names of the Deity are to be relied on implicitly, being freely intermingled. (2) We may, therefore, expect—what is actually the case—to find the greatest variation of opinion among the critics. So for instance, Kuen. and Kitt. pronounce the analysis of JE in the *early* chapters of Exodus, at least, almost impossible." When it is added that there are "sure traces" and "long passages clearly belonging to either writer," we shall see hereafter what these amount to. As to P being "very marked when contrasted with JE," we have already seen the insufficiency of the grounds for any such partition.

#### 1. Chapter 1.

Omitting the verses assigned to P, Wellhausen partitions the remainder of the chapter by giving to J v. 6 (as a doublet of Gen. 50:26 E), vs. 8-10 the pro-

posal of the new king (as related to J in language), which is severed from its proper basis in the immense multiplication of Israel, v. 7 P in spite of the evident allusion of *more and mightier* רב ועצום v. 9 to *multiplied and waxed mighty* וירבו ויעצמו v. 7. These words must accordingly be cut out of v. 7 as a part of a hypothetical sentence belonging to J. The same words recur, v. 20b, and must be once more sundered from their connection and given to J, though there is nothing to which to attach them. Then follows v. 22 the barbarous edict issued by the king to his people to murder all male children, which thus becomes the first and only measure of repression resorted to, instead of the last desperate expedient after all others had failed. Moreover, v. 22, thus sundered from vs. 15-20, which are essential to its proper explanation and limitation,\* would not apply specially to the children of the Hebrews. It is also sundered from 2:1-10 E, of which it supplies the necessary explanation. The residue, vs. 11,12,15-20a, is referred to E, and is an unexplained fragment, whose only reason and motive is found in J vs. 8-10.

Kittel abandons this division, though for the sake of finding the multiplication and consequent oppression of Israel in J as well as E he retains vs. 20b,22 for the former, the inconveniences of which have been already shown.

Other critics give up the attempt to separate what is so plainly indivisible and assign the whole to E. This is attended with the difficulty that subsequent sections of J as well as E imply this very narrative, and with the further difficulty that certain words elsewhere alleged to belong to J are here combined with those of E. Hence it has been assumed that though written by E it has been retouched by J, or that the words in question were introduced by R from a supposed parallel narrative by J, a further trace of whose existence is suspected in the imaginary doublet of v. 20a and 21. But v. 21 is obviously a more definite expansion of the general statement, 20a. And the assumption that these are traces of a parallel narrative otherwise unknown like similar assumptions with which we have met repeatedly before, has no basis but the hypothesis which it is adduced to support. A much more natural conclusion, which must stand until the contrary is proved, is that words thus bound together in one continuous passage are the common property of one and the same writer.

## 2. Chapter 2.

Wellhausen assigns vs. 1-10 to E and vs. 11-23a to J. But vs. 11-14 cannot be separated from what precedes. "When Moses was grown," v. 11, alludes to the previous narrative of his early childhood; "he went out (יָצָא) unto his brethren" to his having been "brought in (וּתְבִאָהוּ) unto Pharaoh's daughter," v. 10; "their burdens" as 1:11; Egyptian and Hebrew, vs. 11-14 as 1:15,16,19; 2:6,7; "made thee prince over" (שָׂם שָׂר עָלָי) v. 14 as 1:11.

\* The verbal correspondence between v. 22 and vs. 17,18 *sacred altars* is also to be noted.

Accordingly Schrader and Dillmann give vs. 1-14 to E and vs. 15-23a to J. But vs. 11-14\* is as essential to what follows as to what precedes. Moses is the brave defender of the weak and injured alike in vs. 11, 12 and in v. 17. His flight, v. 15, was in consequence of its being known that he had killed the Egyptian. Schrader's notion that the motive assigned in v. 14 differs from that in v. 15 is set aside as futile by Dillmann and Jülicher. The peril in its becoming known was that it would reach the ears of the king. "The men who sought thy life," 4:19, are, as the form of expression shows, 2:15a, cf. 18:4, Pharaoh and his emissaries, and the death of the former is recorded, 2:23a.

Dillmann rests the division on the difference of names, Reuel 2:18, and Jethro 3:1 E; and then oddly enough annuls his own argument by insisting that there is a textual error in the name, 2:18. Instead of "Reuel," he says it should be "Hobab, the son of Reuel," as Num. 10:29. But if a change is to be made from mere conjecture, without even the pretence of any ancient authority, why not read "Jethro, the son of Reuel," as Ewald proposed? This would have a *quasi* confirmation from the LXX., which critics are fond of urging when it makes in their favor, so far at least as that Jethro is there introduced into 2:16, 17. But then all pretext would be gone for assigning 2:15-23 and ch. 3 to distinct writers, and that is not what Dillmann wants. Wellhausen and Jülicher find no difficulty in ascribing 2:15 sqq. and 3:1 sqq. to the same writer, by expunging Reuel from the text of 2:18; and so the former gives both to J, the latter both to E. All which illustrates the ease with which a critic can effect his purpose; if the text does not suit him, he can construct one that will.

But if, as Dillmann contends, the same person could not have written Reuel, 2:18 and Jethro, 3:1, how could an intelligent redactor, who expected his work to be credited and understood, have put those sections together in their present form? The critics tell us that he introduces explanatory remarks upon occasion and even alterations for the sake of harmonizing discrepancies or removing difficulties. That he left the text as it is, may then be taken as a clear indication that he saw nothing that required explanation, and no discrepancy to remove. If therefore, as we must suppose, the statements here made were in the judgment of R mutually consistent and sufficiently intelligible, why may not the original writer have been of the same opinion? and why may not one and the same writer have produced both paragraphs? We fully accord with the remark of Dr. Dillmann already quoted that nothing is explained by charging incongruity upon R.

The passages before us are to be compared with Num. 10:29, Hobab, Moses' חֹבָב, the son of Reuel, cf. Judg. 4:11. They contain, as Kurtz remarks, *Geschichte d. Allen Bundes*, II., p. 53, two elastic words, viz., *father* which may be

\* The falsity of the critical dictum that the same writer must always make use of the same words, is well illustrated by Jülicher from vs. 11-14, where וַיֵּצֵא and וַיִּכְרֶה and וַיִּהְיֶה are interchanged in the same brief passage.



used either of an immediate parent or of a grandparent, and יָתֵר which like the Greek *γαμβρός* may denote either a father-in-law or a brother-in-law. Hence arise various possible solutions, any one of which is a sufficient answer to the charge of discrepancy.

1. Reuel, father of Zipporah as well as of Jethro and Hobab, brothers-in-law of Moses.

2. Reuel, grandfather of Zipporah and father of Jethro = Hobab, father-in-law of Moses.

3. Reuel = Jethro, father-in-law of Moses, and the father of Hobab the brother-in-law of Moses.

This last seems to me altogether the most satisfactory. Reuel was his proper name and Jethro or Jether, Ex. 4:18 (i. e. Excellency) his official designation.\* And there is no more difficulty in their being successively used in the same connection than if one should first name President Harrison and afterwards refer to him as His Excellency.

While Wellhausen gives 2:11-23a to J, and Dillmann vs. 15-23a, Jülicher insists that vs. 1-22 belong to E and only 23a to J. Verses 16 sqq. are plainly related to 3:1 by their common reference to Moses' marriage to the daughter of the priest of Midian and the flock of the latter. They are intimately linked with both of the documents, as the critics regard them, viz., with 18:2,3 E, cf. 2:21,22, a coincidence which Dillmann can only account for by assuming that J has here copied from E; also with 4:19 J, which evidently refers to 2:23a, which latter as evidently points back to 1:8 E. While thus assigning, each in his own varying fashion, one portion of the narrative to J and another to E, the critics confess that each document contains implications of and allusions to what is found only in the other. They find it impossible so to construct their documents, that they shall be independent of each other. Serious gaps are left in J, which need precisely what is given in E to fill them, and *vice versa*. Only Jülicher ventures the conjecture that E may have been the only narrator, who told of Moses' rescue by Pharaoh's daughter, J may have spoken briefly of the oppression in Egypt, and then, without knowing anything of children put to death by midwives or Egyptians, may have proceeded at once to the history of Moses. But even he is obliged to assume not only that J and E are mutually supplementary, but that P shows abundant marks of acquaintance with them. Such references from one of the alleged documents to another, of which we have found repeated instances, are indications of a common authorship.

Wellhausen is alone in the attempt to make out a separate narrative of J in ch. 2, which after all he confesses cannot be carried through. This is done by

\* Posset יָתֵר *Jethro* nomen esse muneris aut dignitatis, ut Pharaoh; nam יָתֵר dignitatem significat. Atque hoc videtur sensisse Josephus, II., 12, 1, qui ἐπίκλημα esse dixit Ἰεθραίων. Clericus Comment. in Ex. 2:18.



interpreting vs. 1,2 to mean that Moses was the eldest child of his parents, and then slicing from vs. 6 and 10 such portions as make no mention of Moses' sister, thus producing the semblance of another form of the story in which she has no part, but which runs thus "and behold, a weeping babe, and she had compassion on him and he became her son. And she called his name Moses, and said, Because I drew him out of the water." Meanwhile the omission of these clauses does not disturb the apparent continuity of the principal narrative. This is a fair specimen of the method, which Wellhausen everywhere employs in his attempts to establish duplicate narratives, and which is in fact adopted by that class of critics generally. It is ingenious and clever but baseless. How entirely arbitrary it is and how void of all historical value are results so obtained, is apparent.

### 3. Chapter 3.

Knobel assigns this and the two following chapters to J, who has here in the main not written independently but transcribed two older documents. One of these, which he calls the *Rechtsbuch* or Law-book, is represented in ch. 3 and is continued in 4:18,27-31, but in this latter section with additions by J. The writer of this document uses *Elohim* interchangeably with *Jehovah*, as is seen in the frequent alternation of these names in ch. 3; he agrees with P in holding that the name *Jehovah* was first introduced in the time of Moses, 3:14sq.; he calls Moses' father-in-law not *Reuel* as in 2:18, but *Jethro*, 3:1, or *Jether*, 4:18; he speaks of the elders accompanying Moses when he went to Pharaoh, 3:18; of the women as borrowing or asking for jewels of gold and silver and costly raiment from their female neighbors, 3:22, to put upon their sons and daughters to wear in the feast which they were to observe in the wilderness, while according to 11:1 the borrowing was by every man and every woman and 12:35, by the people without distinction of sex.

The other document, which Knobel calls the *Kriegsbuch* or Book of Wars, is represented in 4:19-26, which is the direct continuation of 2:11-22. The writer of it agrees with P in making Moses demand the complete and unconditional release of Israel, 4:23, and Moses is to perform the signs before Pharaoh, 4:21. These older narratives agree with each other and with P in speaking only of miracles wrought upon or in the presence of the Egyptians, 3:20; 4:21.

On the other hand, 4:1-17 is by J himself, and tells of miracles wrought by Moses as his credentials before the Israelites, vs. 1sq. makes Aaron the speaker even with the children of Israel, vs. 16,30 regards Moses' shepherd staff as the rod with which the miracles were performed, v. 2, and records how Moses presumptuously declined the divine commission, v. 13, while the older accounts only speak of doubts or scruples which he entertained. Knobel further points out in minute detail the peculiar diction of each of these writers severally.

The little weight attached by critics themselves to such nice discriminations in style and in conception appears from the fact that these divisions of Knobel, sharply as they are made, and with all the array of minute distinctions both in thought and language, which he urges in their favor, have not been adopted by any of his critical successors. In fact nothing is easier than to create such factitious distinctions in any narrative. If it be divided into parts, and the separate parts be then compared together, it will of course be found that one does not relate precisely what is in the other. Each particular portion of a narrative tells its own part of the story and this naturally enough is not identical with what is told in the remaining portions. The points, in which one supplements the other, are not to be paraded as divergences, so long as there is no real variance. And a varying diction is not to be assumed because the writer has occasion to use words in one section which he does not need to employ in another.

The perplexity of the critics in ch. 8 arises from such an intermingling of what they regard as the criteria of different documents, that it is impossible to separate them. The one point in which they all agree is in assigning vs. 10-15 to E, and this not on the score of any peculiarity of diction, but simply because the fundamental postulate of this divisive hypothesis requires it. The primary assumption that a distinguishing feature of J is the use of the name Jehovah from the beginning, while in E it was first revealed to Moses, necessarily carries with it the ascription of this passage to the latter. But in all the rest of the chapter they are at sea. Wellhausen, though he acknowledges that the entire paragraph 8:1-4:17 creates the impression of unity or of one casting, nevertheless gives 8:1-8, 16-20 to J (with traces of E), and vs. 21,22 to E; Jülicher 8:7,8,16-22 to J, vs. 1-6,9-14 to E; Dillmann, the whole chapter to E (with traces of J).

When the alleged criteria of different documents are thus inseparably blended, the critics lay the responsibility upon R, who has not followed one document exclusively, but is supposed to have introduced words or phrases from an imaginary parallel in the other. But

(1) This is supporting hypothesis by hypothesis, and no particular reason can be given why R should have done this here and in other instances in which the like assumption is made.

(2) Such an assumption, moreover, undermines the very basis of the entire critical hypothesis. The determination of distinctive marks for the documents, by which the whole analysis is conducted and is held to be justified, takes for granted that the extracts from each have been preserved in their original form. If this is not the case, the foundation of their argument is gone. If R has blended and confused these documents with the frequency and to the extent that the critics are themselves obliged to assume, where is the guarantee that he has not done the same in other instances?

(3) What hypothesis, however unreasonable, could not be successfully main-

tained, if everything at variance with its requirements is held to be sufficiently accounted for by attributing it to R?

(4) The obvious inference from the premises before us is not that the text is at fault, nor that R has jumbled his sources together, but that the critics are not infallible. Their previous conclusions are based on insufficient data. What they have taken to be marks of distinct writers, are here shown to belong alike to one and the same.

#### 4. Chapter 4.

The critical analysis of this chapter is based on certain alleged discrepancies, which are no discrepancies at all.

(1) After the Lord appeared to Moses in Horeb and commissioned him to deliver Israel, Moses asks, v. 18, and obtains permission from Jethro to return to Egypt. In v. 19 the Lord bids him to return to Egypt, assuring him that the men are dead, who sought his life. And it is gravely represented that these are mutually exclusive, which they manifestly are not.

(2) It is charged that v. 20a, in which Moses takes his wife and sons with him to Egypt, conflicts with 18:2 sqq. from which it appears that they were subsequently with Jethro,—not, as the critics infer in direct contradiction to its express language, that he left her behind, but he *sent her back*. This clause the critics strike out and assign to R for no reason whatever, except that by doing so an apparent contradiction can be created. Those, to whom it is not an accepted canon that everything is to be expunged from the text, which establishes its coherence and consistency, will see no contrariety here.

(3) In v. 20, we read of Moses that “he returned to the land of Egypt.” And yet in the following verse the Lord says to him “When thou goest to return into Egypt,” etc. This, it is claimed, is not a continuous narrative. But the explanation is perfectly simple. Upon the first mention of his setting out the general statement is made, as is usual in Hebrew narrative, respecting his whole journey, “he returned to the land of Egypt.” The incidents of the journey are then recited particularly, his taking the rod, the Lord’s direction to him what to do with it, and what to say to Pharaoh, the affair at the lodging-place, and the meeting with Aaron.

(4) Wellhausen further charges that v. 27 is not the sequel of vs. 24–26, for at the lodging-place where the latter incident occurred, Moses was already beyond the mount of God, where Aaron was to meet him. How he knows where the lodging-place was, he does not inform us. But supposing him correct in this particular, the whole point of his objection lies in the assumption that a continuous narrative cannot deviate from the exact chronological arrangement of every detail. The writer here chooses to follow a topical order instead. As he has mentioned Moses’ wife and sons, v. 20, he mentions an affair in which they

were concerned before proceeding to speak of his meeting with Aaron who was to act with him upon his arrival in Egypt. The chronological sequence does not lie in the initial term **וַיֵּאמֶר**, but in the transaction, which it introduces, vs. 27-31, considered as a whole. See numerous similar examples in the discussion of Gen. 2:19; *HEBRAICA*, V., p. 148.

(5) It is alleged that vs. 17,20b,21 the rod with which Moses was to do signs before Pharaoh is quite a different conception from vs. 1-9, which records a series of miracles designed to accredit Moses before the people, in only one of which a rod is mentioned and that not as the instrument but as itself the subject of the miracle. Hence it is claimed that v. 17 does not refer back to the rod of vs. 2,4, but to some narrative not preserved, in which a rod was consecrated and endued with miraculous virtue for Moses' use in Egypt. But there is not the slightest discrepancy here, nor any suggestion of different narratives. All proceeds regularly and continuously. Moses was solicitous lest the people would not believe that the Lord had appeared to him, and the Lord gave him a series of signs to convince them. He was further charged to work miracles before Pharaoh, and for this purpose was bidden to take "this rod," i. e. the rod which had been changed to a serpent, as 7:15 explicitly declares. This testimony the critics seek to evade by ascribing it to R, it being their invariable usage to put an unwelcome witness summarily out of court.

(6) Wellhausen and Jülicher find an inconsistency between vs. 10-12, in which, upon Moses' plea of incapacity to speak, the Lord promises to be with his mouth, and vs. 13-16, where his continued reluctance is overcome by associating Aaron with him, as though Aaron's help were more reassuring than that of God himself, and besides in chs. 7-11 it is not Aaron but Moses who speaks to Pharaoh. On critical principles, then, vs. 13-16 must be by another writer than vs. 10-12, J; it cannot be by E, who gives no such prominence to Aaron, nor by P, whose parallel they find in 7:1,2. Wellhausen and Jülicher accordingly refer it to Rj (who combined J and E). But Kittel aptly replies, why should Rj introduce Aaron here, if he was not mentioned in either of his sources? If this is a case of redactional interference, it can only be attributed to Rd (who added Deuteronomy) or Rh (the final redactor of the Hexateuch), who sought to conform this passage to P's representation. But even this, he urges cannot be so, for the manner of its introduction shows that this was not inserted by the Redactor purely of his own motion. If he were disposed to lay stress on Aaron's presence, and claim for him a prominent share in these transactions, he would have inserted his name elsewhere, or at least whenever Moses came before Pharaoh. But just there it is lacking. This, then, is not something bodily introduced by the Redactor with a purpose; it must have belonged to the original text.

Kittel suggests the possibility that J may have mentioned that Aaron was to be associated with Moses, though not to speak, and this may have been modified

by Rd in 4:13-16 into accordance with P. But the same difficulty arises here as before, that upon this supposition Rd would have made more extensive alterations in what follows. His only resource is to assume that J is itself composite, one of its constituents representing that all goes forward without Aaron, the other assuming his presence and co-operation.

But all this critical floundering is unnecessary. It grows out of the attempt to create a discrepancy, where, as Dillmann has shown, none exists. God's promise to be with Moses is not withdrawn in making Aaron his coadjutor, but he engages to be with them both. And Aaron is to assist Moses, not supersede him either in speech or action. The Lord says, v. 15, "I will be with thy mouth and his mouth and will teach you what ye shall do." Moreover, as this was intended to quiet Moses' anxiety lest the people should not believe him nor hearken to his voice, 4:1, it is unto *the people* that Aaron was to speak for Moses, v. 16, as it is recorded v. 30 that he actually did.

(7) Verses 27-31 are a puzzle to the critics, no one of whom has yet been able to bring them into accord with the marks which he has laid down for distinguishing the documents. Wellhausen admits the close connection of these verses in their present form to be undeniable and that they cannot be parcelled between distinct writers. The gathering of the elders, v. 29, cf. 3:16, and doing the signs before the people, v. 30, cf. vs. 1-9, point according to his scheme to J, who ascribes these acts to Moses. Hence he concludes that in the original form of vs. 29-31, it must have been Moses, who spake to the people and did the signs. Rj inserted Aaron along with him, and prefixed vs. 27, 28, that Aaron as well as Moses might have the honor of having previously been at Horeb.

Jülicher credits Rj with a still larger share in the production of these verses. As he assigns 3:16 to E, and makes it a mark of distinction between J and E, that the former speaks of the people and the latter of the elders (not J of both, as Wellhausen), the elders as well as Aaron must have been interpolated in this passage of J. J merely wrote "Moses went and gathered the children of Israel and did the signs before the people." Rj is responsible for all the rest of vs. 27-30.

Dillmann, who concedes that vs. 14-16 belong to the original record and assigns them to J, has no difficulty in reconciling the part attributed to Aaron in vs. 27-31 with their composition by J. But as on his division E speaks of the elders, 3:16, and J of signs wrought and words spoken before the people, 4:1 sqq., 16, he is obliged to parcel these verses between J and E. To the latter he assigns 4:29 and the middle clauses of 31, leaving to J vs. 27, 28, 30 and the first and last clauses of 31. E wrote "And Moses ['and Aaron,' of whom E says nothing is an interpolation by Rj] went and gathered together all the elders of the children of Israel. . . . and they heard that Jehovah had visited the children of Israel and that he had seen their affliction." J wrote "And Moses told Aaron all the words of



Jehovah wherewith he had sent him and all the signs wherewith he had charged him. ...And Aaron spake all the words which Jehovah had spoken unto Moses and did the signs in the sight of the people. And the people believed....and they bowed their heads and worshipped."

The perfectly arbitrary character of all these divisions is obvious. The critic, on the basis of his partition elsewhere, lays down marks to distinguish the documents, and then carries them relentlessly through, however the passages to which they are applied may be mangled in the process. The plain fact is that none of the critical schemes can be made to fit this passage. It gathers up in itself references to and exact correspondences with the entire preceding narrative, which the critics insist upon sundering, but whose unity and common origin are here palpably demonstrated.

(8) Certain dislocations are also alleged, which require transpositions of the existing text for their correction. Thus, Dillmann urges that vs. 22,23, though belonging to J, are inappropriate where they are and must originally have stood just before 10:28. As vs. 20b,21 are assigned to E, v. 22 would in J connect directly with v. 20a, so that the very first message, which Moses is instructed to deliver to Pharaoh on his return to Egypt, is the announcement of the last of all the plagues, which was not in fact made till 11:4. And further, according to v. 23 (Hebrew text and Revised version) the demand had already been made upon Pharaoh to let Israel go and he had refused. But all the seeming incongruity is the work of the critics themselves, in sundering what belongs together. It is their thrusting v. 21 from the text, which has destroyed the connection and made all the trouble. Moses is there bidden to do all those wonders before Pharaoh, which God had put in his hand, viz., those that were to be wrought by the rod given him for that purpose, v. 17, but is at the same time informed that in spite of all Pharaoh's heart should be hardened and he would not let the people go. Thereupon it is entirely in place for God to inform Moses of the final result of Pharaoh's obstinacy, and of the message which he shall not immediately indeed, but at the proper time deliver to the reculant monarch. And there was a special reason why this disclosure should be made just then and why the fact should be recorded precisely where it is, as preliminary to the occurrence at the lodging-place, vs. 24-26. God's instrument in avenging Israel against Pharaoh cannot be suffered to be himself regardless of the obligations of an Israelite.

Again, as 4:19 plainly refers back to 2:23a, Wellhausen and Jülicher infer that they belong together, the former claiming that the original place of 2:23a was immediately before 4:19, and the latter, on the contrary, that 4:19 ought to stand immediately after 2:23a. Each succeeds in creating a new divergence between the documents by the transposition. Wellhausen finds that in J Moses resolved to return to Egypt as soon as he received the commission to deliver the children of Israel, 4:18; but in E the direction to return was not given



until a later time after the king of Egypt had died. Jülicher by reversing the transposition discovers that in J Moses had already returned to Egypt before God appeared to him to bid him deliver the people, while in E he was still in Midian when this occurred. It is plain enough that neither discrepancy is in the text: they alike result from a critical process, which is altogether unwarranted.

As the discrepancies and dislocations, which are the only pretext for a critical division of this chapter, turn out upon examination to be imaginary, the division built upon them collapses entirely.

### 5. Chapter 5:1-6:1.

This passage is according to Wellhausen borrowed entire from J, as shown by the correspondence of 5:3 with 8:18, and נגשים vs. 6,10,13,14 a different word for "taskmasters," from שרי מסים 1:11 E, though he notes two words for "task" or "tale" מתכנת v. 8 and תכן v. 18,\* and a redundancy of expression in vs. 4,5. In 5:1 he claims that R has substituted "Moses and Aaron" for "Moses and the elders," which according to 8:18 J must have written.

As, however, Dillmann gives 8:18 to E, this entire passage takes the same direction with him, for which he further pleads the occurrence of פגע vs. 3,20, showing upon what slender grounds the assignment of whole chapters hither and thither may be made. He traces the hand of R in the omission of "the elders" v. 1, the insertion of Aaron vs. 1,4,20, "hold a feast," v. 1, instead of "sacrifice," as 8:18; 5:3, etc., the doublet v. 5 (cf. v. 4), v. 9 (which has a word of P עברה and one of J שעה), 11b (which he fancies would be more appropriate after v. 13), and v. 22 where "returned" is introductory to the renewal of Moses' commission, 6:2sq., and is therefore unwelcome to the critics, who will have it that this is no renewal at all but simply P's account of what E had already described in ch. 3. These alleged manipulations of R, as we have repeatedly seen, merely betoken critical embarrassment and are an acknowledgment that the passage is not in these particulars, what according to the critic's scheme it ought to be; an acknowledgment, which is but scantily covered up by the assumption that R has been borrowing snatches from a hypothetical parallel narrative in J.

Jülicher assigns vs. 1,2,5 to E and the remainder to J, assuming that Rj inserted Aaron, v. 1, and erased from v. 3 "Moses and the elders of Israel," which he supposes to have been expressed as the subject in its original form; though if Rj made this erasure because in his view no other than Aaron was associated with Moses in this transaction, why did he not erase "the elders of Israel" from 8:18 likewise?

\* Jülicher remarks that like variations in the use of terms occur several times in the preceding chapters within the limits of what is accounted the same document, and are common in good writers; moreover these very words תכן and מתכנת occur together in the same verse, Ezek. 46:11.

It is of course easy enough for the critics, by the aid of R, to construct a text that will suit their hypothesis, as the present text manifestly does not. The combination here of "Moses and Aaron" will not answer either for Wellhausen's J, or for Dillmann's or Julicher's E. It enters its decided protest against the sundering of 3:18 from 4:14-16; which is a feature of every critical scheme. That "the elders" are not particularly mentioned in 4:1-3 is not due to any manipulation by R, as the critics think it necessary to assume. It merely shows that the writer was not so painfully precise as to record subordinate details, which were sufficiently implied in statements already made. It is plain enough from 3:18 that the elders were to accompany Moses and Aaron when they went before the king. Their presence was altogether subsidiary and it is simply taken for granted without further mention that the divine direction was complied with.

The minute and complicated apportionment, which the critics make of the next section, the narrative of the plagues, is based upon a rigorous demand for the explicit statement of every minute particular, which as the instance before us plainly shows is not always to be expected, a refusal to admit implications however obvious in lieu of it, and insisting upon finding a divergence in trifling variations in the form of statement, which are readily explicable without such an assumption.

## 1. LANGUAGE OF J.

## OLD WORDS.

(1) *בִּקֶּשׂ* see Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (2) *הָרַג* also in E, Gen. 20:4,11; 37:20, etc. (3) *רָחֵם* Sect. 3, Lang. of J. (4) *נָרַשׁ* HEBRAICA, V., p. 154 (also in E and P). (5) *כִּדְרִיעַ* Sect. 7, Lang. of J (also in E). (6) *כִּדְרִיעַ* Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also in E). (7) *הָצִיל* Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (8) *מִיָּה* also in E, Gen. 22:7. (9) *לִמְדָה* Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also in E). (10) *עֵינֶיךָ* also in E, Ex. 23:5; Josh. 8:17; 24:16,20. (11) *יָאֵל* (Hiph.) also in E. (12) *יָהוּה*. (13) *צַעֲקָה* Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also in E). (14) *וְעִתָּה* also in P, Gen. 48:5 and E, Gen. 21:23, etc. (15) *שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל* Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (also in E). (16) *שָׁלַח יָד* Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also in E). (17) *נָא* Sect. 12, Lang. of E (also in P, Gen. 84:8). (18) *בִּי* Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (19) *אֲנֹכִי* Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also in P, Gen. 23:4, often in E). (20) *נָם...נָם* Sect. 12, Lang. of J (also in E and P). (21) *תִּכְוֹל* Sect. 8, Lang. of E (also in P). (22) *חֲרָה* HEBRAICA, V., p. 163 (also in E). (23) *לִקְרָאתָ* Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also in E). (24) *שִׁים* HEBRAICA, V., p. 154 (also in E and P). (25) *כָּאן* Sect.

10, Lang. of E. (26) *כָּלִין* HEBRAICA, VI., p. 22. (27) *נָא* Sect. 12, Lang. of J (also E and P). (28) *קָרַד* Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (29) *שַׁעַר* Ex. 5:9 and only Gen. 4:4,5 in Hex. beside. (30) *עָנִי* Gen. 16:11; 29:32 J; 31:42; 41:52 E; Ex. 3:7,17; 4:31 J (Well.) but E (Dill.). (31) *חִיק* Ex. 4:8,7, in Hex. beside only Gen. 16:5; Num. 11:12. (32) *אֶרֶץ* also in E, Gen. 20:4.

## NEW WORDS.

(1) *רָלָה* Ex. 2:19b J; 2:8 E. (2) *מִכְאֹב* Ex. 3:7 J (Well.), E (Dill.); all in Hex. (3) *יֵר חֲזָקָה* Ex. 13:9; 32:11 J; Num. 20:20 E; Ex. 2:19; 6:1 J (Well.), E (Dill.). (4) *זָנַב* Ex. 4:4 J; all in Hex. except twice in Deuteronomy. (5) *שָׁלַג* Ex. 4:3 J; Num. 12:10 E worked over by J; all in Hex. (6) *אֶלֶם* Ex. 4:4 J; all in Hex. (7) *פָּקַח* Ex. 4:11 J; 23:8 E; all in O. T. (8) *רָפָה* let go Ex. 4:23 J; Qal only here in Hex.

\* The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 30.

It will be observed that no characteristic diction is made out for J; nearly all the words in the foregoing lists are found also in E.

## 2. LANGUAGE OF E.

## OLD WORDS.

(1) הָרֹבֵא see V., p. 176, Lang. of J (יהב). (2) הָרֹבֵא Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (3) שִׁים Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (4) קָרָא (happen) Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (5) פָּרַץ Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (6) מָדוּעַ Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (7) מָרָם V., p. 155, Lang. of J. (8) הָרָה V., p. 155, Lang. of J. (9) חָמַר verb Ex. 2:3 E, all in Hex; noun, Gen. 11:3 J (Dill. J); 14:10 special source (Dill. E), Ex. 2:3 E; all in Hex, (10) יָלַךְ also in J, Gen. 32:23; 38:1-14; 44:20. (11) יָמָא also in J, Ex. 4:9; 7:25,28; 8:5,7; in P, 7:19; 8:1. (12) מָחָה Sect. 6, Lang. of E, referred by rule to E. (13) גָּרַל Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (14) מָחַן Sect. 9, Lang. of E (also in J). (15) מָכַן Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (16) מָכַי Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (17) עָתָה V., p. 155 in J. (18) מָן Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (19) לֵךְ (permit) Sect. 6, Lang. of E (also in J). (20) פָּן V., p. 155, in J. (21) לָבִיִּים Gen. 11:3 J (Dill. J); Ex. 1:14 P (this word out solely on account of its evident allusion to ch. 5); 5:7,8,18,19 J (Well.), E (Dill.). (22) פָּנֵעַ Sect. 8, Lang. of E (also in P). (23) תָּמוּל שְׁלֹשָׁם Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (24) עָלִיבֵן Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (25) מָוִן Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (26) נָס....נָס Sect. 12, Lang. of J. (27) לִקְרָאָה Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (28) חָבִיִּים Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (29) הָלַם Gen. 16:13 J; Ex. 8:5 J (Well.), E (Dill.); all in Hex. (30) פָּנַשׁ Gen. 32:18 E; 38:8 J; Ex. 4:24,27 J (Dill. and Well.); all in Hex. (31) פָּוִן Gen. 10:18; 49:7; Num. 10:36 J; Gen. 11:4,8,9 J (Dill. J); Ex. 5:12 J (Well.), E (Dill.); all in Hex. except three times in Deuteronomy. (32) עָבַר Sect. 6, Lang. of J.

## NEW WORDS.

(1) מִלְרֵת Gen. 35:17; Ex. 1:15-21 E; Gen. 38:28 J; all in O. T.  
(2) עָפֵן Ex. 2:2,8 E; Josh. 2:4 uncertain whether J or E (Dill.); all in Hex.  
(3) חֹרֵב Ex. 8:1 J (Well.), E (Dill.); 17:8 E (Dill.), uncertain; (Well.) 38:8 E, and repeatedly in Deuteronomy; סִינִי is commonly referred

to P or J, but occurs in E, Ex. 19:11,18 (where Dill. says it was introduced by R from J), Deut. 33:2. Sinai is the name of the particular peak from which the law was given, Horeb a more general term for the whole cluster of mountains. While Israel lay encamped at its base, and in reference to laws enacted there it was natural to use the term Sinai; prior to God's descent upon Sinai and subsequently when they were at a distance, in the plains of Moab, as in Deuteronomy, it was equally natural to say Horeb.

(4) סָנָה Ex. 3:2,3,4 J (Well.), E (Dill.); Deut. 33:16 E; all in Hex.

(5) שָׁל נֶעֱלָךְ וגו' Ex. 8:5 J (Well.), E (Dill.); Josh. 5:15 J; all in O. T.

(6) לֶחֶץ noun Ex. 3:9 J (Well.), E (Dill.); Deut. 26:7; all in Hex; verb, Ex. 3:9 J or E; 22:20; 28:9 E; Num. 22:26 J; all in Hex.

(7) נִפְלְאוֹת Ex. 8:20 J (Well.), E (Dill.); 34:10 R; Josh. 3:5 E; all in Hex. [Josh. 5:9 cited VI., p. 84 is probably an inadvertence for Job 5:9.]

(8) רִיקָם Gen. 31:42; Ex. 3:21; 23:15 E; 34:20 J; all in Hex. except twice in Deuteronomy.

(9) נָשָׁה Ex. 3:7; 6:8,10,13,14 J (Well.), E (Dill.); all in Hex.

(10) שָׁמַר Ex. 6:6,10,14,15,19 J (Well.), E (Dill.); Num. 11:16 J; all in Hex. except Deuteronomy and passages in Joshua referred to D.

(11) קָשַׁשׁ Ex. 5:7,12 J (Well.), E (Dill.); Num. 15:32,33 P or a later addition to P; all in Hex.

(12) נָאֵשׁ Gen. 34:30; Ex. 8:10 J; 7:21 E; 5:21; 7:18 J (Well.), E (Dill.); 16:20,24 P; all in Hex.

## RARE WORDS.

These, of course, afford no indication of a writer's ordinary diction.

(1) Nowhere else in Hex., a, גָּלְמָא 2:3; b, יָקָת 2:8; c, סִינִי 2:8,5; d, מִשְׁחָה 2:10.

(2) Nowhere else in O. T., a, מִכְנִים (birth-stool) 1:16; b, לָבֵת 8:2; c, נִרְפִּים Niph. 6:8,17.

It will be seen how total is the failure to establish any characteristic diction for

\* The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 84.

E; almost every word in the above lists occurs likewise in J. Nearly the entire narrative portion being given to J or E, and only a few insignificant scraps reserved for P, it is to be expected that a large proportion of the words employed will not be found in the latter.

J and E are so indistinguishable in "style," "material" and "theology," that they are considered together in all these respects, *HEBRAICA*, VI., pp. 80, 82, 35. This is an admission that no argument can be thence derived for sundering J from E. The only thing calling for remark is the following summary of "E's special characteristics," *ibid.*, p. 84.

1) "This writer calls Mt. Sinai *Horeb*, 3:1." Explained above under "New Words" (3).

2) "An angel appears unto Moses, 3:2." So also to Hagar, Gen. 16:7-18 J; Lot, 19:1 J; Jacob, 32:24 (cf. Hos. 12:4) J (Well.); Balaam, Num. 22:22-35 J; Joshua, Josh. 5:13-15 (with explicit allusion to Ex. 3:5) J; to which in all fairness should be added Abraham, Gen. 22:11,15, though v. 11 is by the critics referred to E in spite of the name "Jehovah," and v. 15 though admitted to be akin to J in thought and expressions is ascribed to R.

3) "Moses' name is repeated in calling, 3:4." There are but two other instances of such repetition, Gen. 22:11; 46:2, the former of which ought on critical principles to be assigned to J; in other passages in E the name is not repeated, e. g., Gen. 31:11; 22:1,7; 21:17.

4) "Fondness for 'three days' journeys," 3:18; 5:3." So J, Gen. 30:36; Num. 10:33b, cf. also Josh. 9:16; P, Num. 33:8.

5) "Even after recording the revelation of the name *Yahweh* in 3:15 sq., he continues regularly with אֱלֹהִים in the rest of his narrative, e. g., 4:20,27."\* So far is this from being the case that the critics have frequent recourse to R to account for the absence of אֱלֹהִים in E, as is confessed, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 35, "not even the names of the Deity are to be relied on implicitly, being freely intermingled."

#### SECTION 14. Ex. 7:8-12:51.

The questions raised by the critics now become grave indeed in their bearing upon the truth and divine origin of the religion of the Old Testament. The details of patriarchal history are less vital than the events which we now approach, which are the credentials of the Mosaic revelation and the divinely given attestation that it is from Him whom all nature obeys and that it is charged with His supreme authority. The formula which declares the source of the Pentateuchal laws and their claim upon Israel's homage and obedience is "I am Jehovah thy God, who have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the

\* Neither Wellhausen, Dillmann, nor Jülicher refer 4:27 to E.

house of bondage." And the fact that they were led forth "with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm and with signs and wonders," is repeatedly appealed to in evidence that it was indeed Jehovah himself, who had wrought their deliverance. If now the record of these events is framed out of divergent and conflicting sources, as the critics claim, their credibility is, to say the least, seriously impaired. But if it is, as has always been believed, a contemporaneous and self-consistent narrative, this carries with it unimpeachable evidence of its truth and accuracy.

In a matter such as this we surely have the right to demand something more than plausible conjecture resting upon slight and dubious grounds. There should be clear and unambiguous proof proportionate to the gravity of the consequences suspended upon it. Can such proof be furnished? Let us see.

### 1. The Grounds of Partition.

It is alleged that there are such characteristic and pervading differences in the narratives of the plagues as betray a diversity of writers.

1. The miracles are sometimes wrought by Aaron with his rod (P), 7:10,19; 8:1 sq., 12 sq. (A. V., 5 sq., 16 sq.); sometimes by the rod or hand of Moses (E), 7:17 (cf. 14); 9:23; 10:13,22; and sometimes without human instrumentality by the sole and immediate agency of Jehovah himself (J), 7:25,27 (A. V., 8:2); 8:17,20 (A. V., 21,24); 9:3,5 sq., 18,23b; 10:4,13b.

2. The miracles described by P are to be classed as signs rather than inflictions; they are successive trials of strength between Aaron and the magicians of Egypt in which the latter are each time worsted more seriously than before, until finally they are discomfited altogether. These are framed after a uniform pattern: "Jehovah spake unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch forth thy rod and do so and so that there may be....and they did so (as Jehovah commanded) and Aaron stretched out his rod and did so and so and there was ...and the magicians did so with their enchantments and.... But Pharaoh's heart was hardened [or Jehovah hardened Pharaoh's heart] and he hearkened not to them as Jehovah had said." These form a regularly advancing series from the preliminary sign of rods changed to serpents through the first, second, third, and sixth plagues (blood, frogs, lice, boils). But in the remaining plagues (fourth, fifth, seventh, eighth, ninth) there is no allusion to the magicians whatever.

3. Certain of the plagues are announced beforehand (uniformly J). Moses is bidden to go to Pharaoh and demand the release of Israel, at the same time notifying him that if he refused to let them go such and such a plague would be sent, commonly at a specified time; so in the plagues of blood, frogs, flies, murrain, hail and locusts (first, second, fourth, fifth, seventh, eighth (but not the third, sixth, and ninth).

4. In certain of the plagues the effect produced upon the king is expressly



stated (JE); he summons Moses and Aaron and begs them to entreat Jehovah for its removal and makes larger and larger concessions; but, when the plague was over, Pharaoh hardened his heart and would not let the people go. This takes place in the second, fourth, seventh, eighth and ninth plagues (frogs, flies, hail, locusts, darkness) but not in the third, fifth, and sixth.

Hence it is argued that the plagues not being regarded from the same point of view, nor described in the same manner, nor forming a continuous series in any of the respects named above, cannot all have been recorded by the same hand. Different accounts have been mingled together; but when these are disentangled and restored each to its proper separate form, the regular and orderly arrangement which is now confused will be brought to light.

In addition to the rod changed to a serpent the critics find the following plagues in

P (1) blood, (2) frogs, (3) lice, (6) boils.

J (1) blood, (2) frogs, (4) flies, (5) murrain, (7) hail, (8) locusts.

E (1) blood, (7) hail, (8) locusts, (9) darkness, with possible traces of two others, perhaps frogs and flies.

In reality, however, the plagues form a symmetrical and regularly unfolding scheme, as they stand in the record, without any confusion or derangement. The first nine plagues spontaneously divide themselves into three series of three each.

- |                           |                     |                         |
|---------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. (1) blood, 7:14-25.    | (4) flies, 8:16-28. | (7) hail, 9:13-35.      |
| 2. (2) frogs, 7:26-8:11.* | (5) murrain, 9:1-7. | (8) locusts, 10:1-20.   |
| 3. (3) lice, 8:12-15.     | (6) boils, 9:8-12.  | (9) darkness, 10:21-27. |

In each series the first and second are announced beforehand; the third is sent without warning. The regularly repeated formula in the first is with slight variations: "And Jehovah said unto Moses, Rise up early in the morning and stand before Pharaoh,—lo! he cometh forth to the water,—and say unto him, Thus saith Jehovah (the God of the Hebrews), Let my people go that they may serve me; and if thou wilt not let my people go, behold I"....

The second of each series is introduced thus: "And Jehovah said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh and say unto him, Thus saith Jehovah (the God of the Hebrews), Let my people go that they may serve me; and if thou refuse to let them go, behold I"†....

While the first in each series was thus pre-announced to the king by the river's side, and the second in his palace, the third was wrought without premonition, Jehovah simply giving direction to Moses or to Moses and Aaron.

This orderly arrangement of the plagues is rendered still more significant by their number, which cannot be merely the accidental result of combining separate

\* In A. V., 8:1-15, with a corresponding change in the verses throughout ch. 8.

† These recurring formulae would be called "stereotyped" and "repetitious," if they were found in P.



accounts, which differ both in the number of the plagues and in the substance of the plagues themselves. Nine follow in immediate succession, three times three, suggestive of the three degrees of comparison, each series rising to a climax, the final series the climax of all that preceded; and these are but the prelude to the tenth, which seals the completeness of the whole, like the ten digits and the ten commandments.

And not only in numerical structure but in intrinsic character the plagues proceed by regular gradation, growing in their intensity and severity from first to last. The water of the river, which was adored as divine, the source of Egypt's fertility, became so offensive, that the fish in it died and men could no longer drink of it. It next poured forth multitudes of disgusting vermin, frogs covering the land, filling the houses and the very bedchambers and beds of both king and people. Then the ground was smitten and its dust was alive with troublesome insects, lice (or fleas) upon man and beast. The insect pest was next intensified, swarms of stinging flies, abounding everywhere. Then a fatal pestilence attacking cattle, followed by boils and painful eruptions on the persons of men. To this succeed widespread destruction by an unheard of storm of hail with thunder and lightning, the still more extreme desolation by locusts, the awful darkness paralyzing all and filling all with terror, the precursor of the last, most terrible and crushing blow, the death of all the first-born throughout the land of Egypt from the palace to the dungeon.

A similar progress is observable in the specific aim of the several plagues, their range, and their attendant circumstances. In the first series the Egyptian magicians vie with Aaron, as they had done in the preliminary sign exhibited before Pharaoh of a rod turned into a serpent, 7:9-12. This is not a duplicate account of the miracle in the wilderness of Horeb, 4:2-4,\* intended as a sign wherewith Moses might convince the people, and afterwards wrought in their presence by Aaron as his representative, 4:30. This is a like sign wrought on a separate occasion by special divine direction for Pharaoh's conviction. His serpent charmers imitate it, but Aaron's rod swallowed up theirs. The first two plagues they also imitated, but appeal had to be made to Moses and Aaron for the removal of the second. In the third they altogether failed and confessed, "This is the finger of God." This ends the contest with the magicians. They make no further effort to repeat any of the miracles and are only mentioned once again in the plague inflicted upon persons. They are stricken like the rest.

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\* "Serpent" in 4:8 is שָׂרָפ, but in 7:9-12 נָחָשׁ. This has been thought to indicate different writers. But שָׂרָפ and נָחָשׁ both occur in the same verse and in application to the same object, Isa. 27:1; and נָחָשׁ is used in this same sense, Deut. 32:33; Ps. 91:13. נָחָשׁ as the more comprehensive word is sometimes used generally of such reptiles as infest the water, and it may be suggestive of larger size. But in the passages now in question the words seem to be used as equivalents, which need create no more surprise than if a writer should use "serpent" in one passage and "snake" in another.

With the second series of plagues begins their explicit limitation to the Egyptians in contrast with the land of Goshen where Israel dwelt. The protection of Israel is expressly remarked in every plague from the fourth to the tenth, except two, viz., boils and locusts; and in these it is distinctly implied in their being specifically sent upon the Egyptians and the land of Egypt.

Once in the first series of plagues, once again in the second, and at each successive plague of the third series, Pharaoh sent with increasing urgency to Moses and Aaron to solicit their intercession on his behalf. He first promises to let the people go and asks to have the frogs taken away to-morrow. When flies are sent, he offers with more definiteness to let the people sacrifice in the land or to go into the wilderness for the purpose, if they do not go very far away. The hail wrings from him the confession I have sinned; I will let you go, and ye shall stay no longer. When he is threatened with locusts, Pharaoh's servants urge him to yield, and he proposes to let the men go but not the children. When they are actually sent, he calls in haste for Moses and Aaron, confesses his sin and begs to be forgiven only this once. In the plague of darkness he permits them to take their children but not their cattle. In the consternation at the death of the first-born he concedes everything; they may take their cattle too.

The first series is uniformly wrought by the rod of Aaron, and the third with equal uniformity by the rod of Moses.\* In the second series no rod is mentioned. The first two plagues of this series are simply announced by Moses. In conformity with the scheme upon which all the plagues are conducted, the third is not preannounced. It is linked with Moses by his being concerned in its production; it follows upon his act, not as those before it upon his word.

But here we are met by the question, Does the agency respectively attributed to Moses and to Aaron in their dealings with Pharaoh correspond with that which is outlined for them in 7:2? If to justify their partition of the text the critics infer from this verse that according to P, Aaron, not Moses, is to speak before Pharaoh, they gain nothing by it; for P does not, in all that they assign to him, record a single address to Pharaoh by either of the brothers from this verse forward.

It is plain, however, upon the face of this passage that Aaron is not to supersede or displace Moses. Moses was from the first the chosen organ of divine communication, and he holds throughout the superior rank, as 7:1 distinctly affirms. Aaron is simply called in as his assistant and coadjutor. Moses is to speak all that God commands him. Aaron is to aid him before Pharaoh. In conformity with this Jehovah directs Moses to speak to Pharaoh, 7:14, etc., etc. But Aaron uniformly accompanies him, and unites in the delivery of the message, 10:3, which is further implied in the repeated phrase, "Pharaoh hearkened not unto

\* Stretching forth his hand toward heaven, 10:22, is equivalent to stretching forth his rod, as is apparent from the comparison of 9:22 with v. 23 and 10:12 with v. 13.

them," 7:13,22, etc. He works the miracles, by which it is enforced, to the end of the first series of plagues;\* all after this are wrought by Moses. Pharaoh pressed by necessity invariably summons both Moses and Aaron and asks their intercession; but as Moses is the organ of communication with God, it is invariably he alone who intercedes. The critics, who wish to establish a distinction between P and J in regard to Aaron, are puzzled to account for his presence at all in the interviews with the king, which they assign to J. But if his name was inserted by R, to enhance the credit of the future high priest, why did he not make him the intercessor with God and give him altogether a more conspicuous part in the narrative?

The evidences of unity, that have now been recited, growing out of the structural arrangement of the plagues, and the various indications of one consistent plan ruling in the whole, cannot be easily set aside and certainly cannot be accidental.

Scarcely any account is made of diction in dividing this section; and as it would appear, with good reason, for what is urged is meagre enough. P uses the term "wonders," 7:3,9; 11:9,10, (but so does E, 4:21); and "pool," 7:19, which occurs but twice besides in the whole Pentateuch. "Magicians," though in Genesis used by E, is here ascribed to P. Three words are employed to denote the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, which vary slightly in signification, קשה hard or obdurate, חזק stout or obstinate, כבד heavy, hard to move or stubborn. These are used in both intransitive and transitive forms, and the latter with Jehovah or Pharaoh himself as subjects. It is alleged that J always uses כבד, yet he interchanges the adjectives כבד and חזק, 10:14,19; P and E alike make use of חזק and that in both its transitive and intransitive forms, a result reached in disregard of the critical dictum that E uses אלהים and not יהוה;† P also uses קשה, which occurs but once in this connection. כבד and חזק both occur after the plague of hail, 9:34,35, the former transitive attributing the hardening to Pharaoh's own agency, the latter intransitive. Instead of admitting that J has here used both words, the critics isolate v. 35 from its context and attach it elsewhere. The same is done with 10:20, which though in a J connection is referred to E notwithstanding יהוה, because it has חזק.

It is said that the P formula is "Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them, as Jehovah had said;" while that of JE is "Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he would not let the people go." Yet P has the latter phrase, 11:10; cf. also 6:11; 7:2. "Thou has not hearkened hitherto," 7:16 J, is a plain allusion to P's phrase just before, v. 13. In 8:11 (A. V. 15) J's phrase

\* Aaron is not the only miracle worker in P, according to the critics themselves. It was Moses who wrought the plague of boils, 9:10, and divided the Red Sea, 14:16,21; cf. 11:10 P.

† HEBRAICA, VI., p. 47. "In this section the name of the Deity is exclusively יהוה, which must have been substituted by R in all the passages; or else even E uses this name in this section, on the strength of 8:15, where Yahweh is revealed."

כבר for the hardening of the heart and P's "hearkened not unto them" occur together, but instead of drawing the natural conclusion that one writer uses both expressions the critics split the sentence and divide it between J and P. If, as we are told, R has here erased חזק, P's word for "hardened," as superfluous after כבר J, why did he allow both to remain, 9:34,35? In 9:35, moreover, E has a part of P's phrase "as Jehovah had said," which Jülicher finds it convenient to attribute to R. Where the presence of the magicians is noted, obstructing attention to the demand of Moses and Aaron, it was natural to say "Pharaoh hearkened not unto them;" everywhere else the statement is "he would not let the people go."

## 2. The Plague of Blood 7:14-25.

According to Knobel and Schrader P's account of this plague is found in 7:19-22. But if that be so, one of the discrepancies insisted upon between P and JE ceases to exist. It is said that P represents all the water in the land of Egypt as turned to blood, while JE limits this to the water of the river. But while v. 19 speaks of streams and rivers and ponds and pools and even the water in wood and stone as converted into blood, v. 20 lays stress only upon the water of the river, and v. 21 speaks of the fish dying in the river and the impossibility of drinking of the water of the river. Nöldeke and Kayser, therefore, assign these last two verses, which occur in the midst of P's statement, to JE, with the exception of the first clause of v. 20 "And Moses and Aaron did so as Jehovah commanded." Dillmann and Wellhausen do the same, only they except in addition the last clause of v. 21, "And there was blood throughout all the land of Egypt."

The further attempt to separate J from E leads to the splitting up of this entire paragraph into minute fragments. In the first place it becomes a question whether on critical principles J can be assigned any part here whatever, for he had already spoken, 4:9, of the change of water to blood in a different connection and for a different purpose, not as an infliction upon Egypt, but as a sign to convince the children of Israel. And there is quite as much reason for regarding that as a divergent account by J of the transaction here recorded, as there is for a similar allegation respecting 4:2-4 J and 7:8-12 P. But critics must be allowed to draw different conclusions from identical premises, when it suits their convenience.

7:14 is given to J because of כבר. But 15b cannot be from J, who knows nothing of miracles wrought with a rod, nor from E who knows nothing of a rod turned into a serpent. This combined reference to 4:17 E and 4:3 J would seem to show that those verses cannot be sundered, as is done by the critics. They have, however, one refuge in every perplexity; this clause must have been inserted by R. If that is the case it is clear that in the judgment of R the rod which was turned to a serpent, 4:3, is the rod which Moses was to take in his

hand wherewith to do signs, 4:17, the critics to the contrary notwithstanding. And furthermore in the intent of the author of this paragraph in its present form the rod aforesaid is the one with which this miracle was wrought; it is identical, therefore, with the rod used by Aaron, v. 19.

Still further, v. 16 J is a plain reference to 3:18; 5:3, which are assigned by Dillmann to E; he is consequently obliged to assume that J has here made use of E. Verse 17a "In this thou shalt know that I am Jehovah," is by Jüllicher attributed to Rj, who gives this religious aim to the miracle. The sudden change of speaker in v. 17 is particularly urged in proof that there is a confusion in the text arising from the blending of two distinct sources. "I will smite with the rod" is plainly the language of Moses, and yet it is prefaced with "Thus saith Jehovah." Such a transition from the words of God to those of his human messenger is, however, of too frequent occurrence to create surprise, cf. Isa. 48:16; Zech. 2:11; 4:8,9. According to the critics, vs. 14-17 as far as the words, "Behold, I..." or "I will smite"... belong (with the exceptions already noted) to J, who attributes the plagues to the immediate agency of Jehovah. The remainder of v. 17 and perhaps v. 18 belong to E, who always employs the instrumentality of Moses' rod. E's account recommences v. 20 with the words, "And he (the pronoun is by the critics referred to Moses) lifted up the rod," etc., and continues in v. 21 as far as "water of the river," and finally embraces v. 24. Then v. 25, which speaks of Jehovah smiting the river is the conclusion of J's account. About v. 23 there is some perplexity. Wellhausen assigns it to P, Dillmann to E, Jüllicher to J. "And this also he did not lay to heart," i. e., this miracle like the one before it failed to influence him, is an evident allusion to 7:9-12 P, whereas "Pharaoh turned and went into his house," refers back to his going out in the morning, v. 15 J (according to Dillmann on the basis of E). Here is again a combined reference to two passages sundered by the critics, which on their principles admits of no explanation. Hence their uncertainty what to do with it.

And now all this sundering and recombining simply makes a confused jumble of the whole matter.

1. The message to Pharaoh, vs. 14-18, the direction to Aaron to execute what had been announced to Pharaoh, v. 19, and his doing as he was directed, v. 20, belong together and are necessary to complete one another. They cannot be assigned to different writers without making each part a disconnected fragment. According to the critics' division J gives no account of the infliction of the plague; E's portion begins in the middle of a sentence, with no intimation who is speaking or to whom the words are addressed; P states in general, v. 20a, that Moses and Aaron did as they were commanded, but according to the analogy of 8:2,13 (A. V. 8,17) this should be followed by the specific act performed and its result,—precisely what in fact does follow in the rest of the verse but is by the critics ascribed to a different document.



2. The close verbal correspondence between vs. 17b,18 and 20b,21a, and the correspondence again between v. 19 and 8:1 (A. V. 5) is no argument for the critical division, for it is at once explained if all is from the same writer. The assumption that the double application of the pronoun "I" in v. 17 is due to R's confusing separate sentences imputes a degree of carelessness or stupidity to him that is quite inconceivable. And the mention of the rod, so far from being out of place or requiring the assumption of a different writer is just what v. 15 prepares us to expect.

3. There is no inconsistency in Moses speaking of smiting the waters, when in fact they were smitten by Aaron at his bidding. Moses simply acts through the instrumentality of Aaron. Nor is there any want of agreement between the command "Take thy rod and stretch out thine hand upon the waters" and the consequent action "he lifted up the rod and smote the waters." Stretching out the rod and smiting with the rod are similarly combined 8:12,18 (A. V. 16,17), only there both terms are inserted in each clause, while here the two clauses supplement each other. Nor is there any discrepancy in all the waters of Egypt becoming blood, whereas Moses had simply spoken to Pharaoh of the water of the river. This was singled out as the most conspicuous and important; and so again in recording the fulfilment, which yet proceeds to add that there was blood throughout all the land of Egypt. And the suggestion that Jehovah's smiting the river involves a different conception from its waters being changed to blood when smitten by divine direction refutes itself.

The space allotted to this article will not permit a like detailed examination of the remaining plagues. Wellhausen admits the impossibility of separating J from E in the plague of blood, frogs, hail and locusts. He would certainly have added that of flies, if he could have anticipated the hair-splitting analysis, which Dillmann struggles to carry through. And as these are the only ones, in which both these documents are supposed to enter, this is equivalent to a surrender of the whole case. The division which is attempted, rests not upon criteria of diction such as are held to distinguish the documents elsewhere, but solely upon distinctions arbitrarily assumed and which are relentlessly forced through in the manner already sufficiently illustrated.

### 3. Style, Material and Theology.

Such particulars as are grouped under these heads, *HEBRAICA*, VI., pp. 378sq., may now be considered, so far as they appear to call for remark and have not been answered already.

"P is systematic," precisely as the entire scheme of plagues is systematic, as has been fully shown.

When in P, Aaron is to "stretch his hand over the waters of Egypt, over their rivers, over their streams, over their pools, and over all their ponds," and



particulars are given in other cases, this is called "minute, exact," *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 30. But when J says, the frogs shall "come into thine house and into thy bed-chamber and upon thy bed and into thine ovens and into thy kneading troughs," and like specifications are given regarding the flies, or the cattle that suffer from the murrain, this is called "vivid," p. 44.

If P is "minute, exact" when stating the duration of "Israel's stay in Egypt," so JE, seven days plague of blood, 7:25; three days darkness, 10:22,23; time defined "tomorrow," 8:6,19 (A. V. 10,23), 9:5,6,18; about midnight, 11:4; exact condition of the several crops, 9:31,32.

P is "stereotyped;" so JE שלח את עמי ויעברני (six times), 7:16,26; 8:16 (A. V., 8:1,20); 9:1,13; 10:3. יהוה אלהי העברים (six times), 8:8; (5:3); 7:16; 9:1,13; 10:3. אם מאן אתה לשלח (three times), 7:27 (A. V., 8:2); 9:2; 10:4; cf. 4:23; 7:14; 8:17. . . . . ויקרא פרעה למשה ולאהרן ואמר (three times), 8:4,21,25; 9:27,28; 10:17; ולא שלח 8:28 (A. V., 32); 9:7,35; 10:20,(27); (11:10 P).

P is "verbose and repetitious;" so is JE, if the same standard and method of treatment be applied. 7:18b is repeated vs. 21,24; 7:29 (A. V., 8:4) adds nothing to v. 28; 8:7(11) is unnecessary after vs. 5,6(9,10); v. 9b(13b) is unnecessary after 9a(13a); v. 17(21) is needlessly amplified; v. 19a(23a) is needless after 18(22); the opening words are all that are needed in v. 20(24); v. 22(26) might have been expressed more briefly; v. 25(29) is needlessly amplified; the opening clause is all that is needed in v. 27(31). We might go similarly through the rest of the chapters if it was worth while.

The mode of inferring "duplicates" is peculiar. Unless there is fresh mention at every step of all that had gone before, it is assumed that the writer knew nothing of it. "(1) 7:9 starts out as if there never had been any thought of showing wonders to Pharaoh; yet 4:21, etc. (2) The 'rod turning serpent' appears here as *something entirely original*, a representation which could hardly have been made by the writer of 4:3. (3) 7:19 has the air of a *perfectly new order* about the plague of blood, not appearing as if it had just been mentioned in v. 17." The words italicized above are entirely gratuitous, and not suggested by anything in the text itself. The writer surely could trust his readers to remember what he had said shortly before. It might as well be said of 7:20b that lifting up the rod and smiting the waters has the air of a perfectly new act never thought of before and it does not appear as if it had been announced, v. 17.

The want of connection alleged (4) between v. 19, all the waters and v. 20 the river *only* is created by inserting "only" which is not in the text and is annulled by "(5) 21b is a clumsy addition." Very clumsy in critical estimation because it overturns the false interpretation put upon the preceding, as though it limited the miracle to the river.

"(6) Verse 23 is a repetition of 22b, such as is not found elsewhere after the

same or similar formula." But it is found here and is a *crux criticorum* as has been shown before.

"(7) 8:1-3 does not seem to imply 7:26-29,"\* the same fallacy as in Nos. 1-3; "and it does not go with 8:4." But though the magicians might aggravate the plague, they could not remove it. There was every reason, therefore, why the prayers of Moses and Aaron should be asked for.

(8) Seven plagues "have warnings, while three come without any notice." This grows out of the symmetrical plan, exhibited above.

"Differences." (1) In JE "Moses is to perform the wonders before Pharaoh *without waiting for Pharaoh to ask for them*, 4:21; in P Aaron is to do them, at the request of Pharaoh, 7:9." Eliminate the italicized words, which are not in the text, and remember that Aaron was appointed to be Moses' helper, and where is the discrepancy? (2) תנין and נחש: this is explained above. (3) and (4) P every collection of water, J and E the Nile; explained above. (5) Magicians in but four of the ten plagues; explained above.

"Inconsistencies." (1) "Some of the differences mentioned above amount to incongruities." It has been shown that this is not the case. (2) "11:9 says 'that my wonders may be multiplied,' while 11:1 says 'yet one more plague will I bring.'" But that plague was multitudinous; there was a death in every household. And to add one more was to increase the number and thus make them more numerous. Apart from this, however, the whole apparent force of the objection lies in the tacit assumption that a sequence in the order of the record must necessarily indicate chronological succession. 11:9,10 do not in the order of time follow the foregoing, but are a summation of all that has preceded. This is obvious in v. 10. It is equally true of v. 9.

"R's free arrangement." Several suggestions are made under this head of an improved order of the verses. This is purely a matter of taste and may be left to be settled between R and the critics.

In P "God's revelation is formal and stiffly sublime: (1) He orders Moses and Aaron to do a certain thing and 'they did so.'" But the orders in JE, 9:22, 23; 10:12,13,21,22 are precisely parallel to those in P, 7:19; 8:1,2,12,13 (A. V. 5, 6,16,17). (2) "His orders are usually the simple fiat 'let it become a serpent'" etc., but precisely so JE, 9:22, "let there be hail;" 10:21, "let there be darkness." (3) He does according to his will, without warning Pharaoh of his plans." Exactly so E, 10:21 sqq.

"(1) No miracle is shown, except when Pharaoh demands one, 7:9." A sign is provided in advance for convincing Pharaoh, 7:9 P, precisely as for convincing Israel, 4:1sqq. J. "(2) Each succeeding plague comes only because the preceding

\* The massoretic punctuation of בַּצְרָרִיעִים 7:27 does not annul the fact that the article הַ does not appear with צָרָרִיעִים when first mentioned in the announcement to Pharaoh, but it is made definite both by הַ and אֶת in the direction to Aaron.

one did not touch Pharaoh's heart." Exactly so in JE. "It is only after the last plague (of boils) that Yahweh hardens the king's heart, and for that there is no punishment as in the prophetic story." Even as the critics parcel the plagues, was the death of the firstborn no punishment? And was the overthrow in the Red Sea no punishment, 14:4,8 P? "(3) It would seem that God did this in order that the exodus might be due directly to his intervention and not to Pharaoh's subjection." There is no difference here between P and JE. It was God's mighty hand that led Israel out in one as in the other. P speaks of the plague of the first-born, but says nothing of any hardening of Pharaoh's heart in connection with it as invariably with the other plagues. The implication is that this broke his obstinacy for the time, until Israel was some distance on their way, when he recovered himself sufficiently to pursue them.

"God is remote from man: (1) he enters into no negotiations with Pharaoh. (2) On the other hand he does not torment or vex Pharaoh [whatever this may mean] as in the representation of J." This is wholly due to the critical partition. That part of the record, which is assigned to J, is of course not left for P.

"The importance of Aaron is emphasized: (1) Aaron is invariably associated with Moses;" so in JE, 8:4,8,21 (A. V., 8,12,25); 9:27; 10:3,8,16. "And in all the plagues but one (the last) Aaron does the work." In the first series of plagues he acts by Moses' direction; in the remaining series Moses acts for himself. "(2) Even in receiving the divine orders, Aaron is mentioned in the first two, 6:13; 7:8, and in the last two, 9:8; 12:1." Nevertheless in P as in JE, God commonly speaks to Moses, 6:2,10; 7:1,2, etc., etc.

It seems unnecessary to pursue these details further, the bare statement of which suggests the answer. But it would be unpardonable not to notice the egregious misrepresentations on p. 48; I beg pardon, but I can call them by no milder name. "Yahweh encourages stealing (at least plundering) goods of the Egyptians, which are to be gotten only by lying, 11:2sq." The only seeming plausibility in this gross misstatement arises from the erroneous translation of a Hebrew word. The people were not bidden to "borrow" nor did the Egyptians "lend," 12:35,36, with any expectation or implication of the things being returned. They asked and the Egyptians bestowed. The Lord gave his people favor in the sight of the Egyptians, who were, moreover, in too great terror to refuse. They were urgent upon the Israelites to send them out of the land in haste and were only too glad to be rid of them at any price, since their detention by the king had been followed by such awful scourges. There was thus no deception in the case, and the transaction was legitimate from a triple point of view; the right of divine gift, the Sovereign Proprietor and Lord of all could justly dispose of the wealth of Egypt as he saw fit; the right of conquest, Israel was victorious in the struggle with Egypt and was in a position to dictate their own terms; the right of compensation for unrequited service which they had rendered and oppressive bondage which they had endured.

"Moreover, the asking for a three days' journey only, 8:28, was under the circumstances not an honest request." If one, who had a rightful claim and the power to enforce it, should in the first instance ask for a mere fraction of what was due him, in order to try the temper of the party with whom he was dealing, what suspicion of dishonesty would there be in such a course? It was with the view of setting the unreasonable obstinacy of Pharaoh in the most glaring light that so trifling a concession was asked. It was no stratagem for the sake of gaining an advantage. Jehovah had the power to set his people free and he meant to use it. He could just as easily have declared to Pharaoh his whole purpose at the beginning. But the despicable nature of the Egyptian tyrant, and the pitiless bondage to which Israel was subjected, would not have been so clearly exhibited.

"The necessity of indicating the Hebrew houses by blood upon the door-post is hardly compatible with the idea of an omniscient Deity." It is difficult to repress one's indignation at the irreverence of such suggestions. The blood on the door-posts was not to aid God's omniscience, but to teach the need of atonement, to impress upon Israel that they too were exposed to death and must be delivered by the shedding of blood. It is the doctrine incessantly set forth in the whole sacrificial ritual, proclaiming the holiness and the pardoning mercy of God, but impairing none of his infinite perfections.

#### 4. Chapter 12.

I must here be permitted to refer to the detailed discussion of the unity of this chapter in my Hebrew Feasts, Lectures 3 and 4, to which I have nothing material to add, and which there is not now space to repeat.

#### 1. LANGUAGE OF P.\*

##### OLD WORDS.

(1) תָּנִין (= נָחַשׁ in JE, as explained above), V., p. 151 (also in J). (2) מִקּוֹדֶה V., p. 151, only three times in Hex. (3) נֶפֶשׁ (= person) VI., p. 117 (also in J). (4) זָכַר Sect. 5, Lang. of P (also in J). (5) נָתַן (= שָׁם) V., p. 152 (also in J and E). (6) לָרִית Sect. 5, Lang. of P (legal phrase). (7) וּבְכִרְתָּהּ הַנֶּפֶשׁ Sect. 5, Lang. of P (legal phrase). (8) בַּעֲצֵם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה V., p. 174 (7:13). (9) בָּן נָכַר Sect. 5, Lang. of P (also in J and E). (10) מִקֵּנַת כֶּסֶף Sect. 5, Lang. of P (legal phrase). (11) מוֹל Sect. 5, Lang. of P (also in J and E). (12) יְהוָה.

(1) שָׁחִין in but two passages in P, Ex. 9:9,10 11; Lev. 13:18,19,20,23, and one in Deuteronomy viz.: 28:27,28; all in Hex. (2) עֵרַת יִשְׂרָאֵל (with or without בְּנֵי) legal phrase. (3) כֶּסֶם Ex. 12:4 P, all in O. T.; מִכְסֶּה Ex. 12:4; Lev. 27:23 P, all in O. T.; a cognate word מִכֶּסֶם is found in a single passage, Num. 31:28,27,38,39,40,41 said by Dill. and Well. not to be by P, but a late addition. (4) מִשְׁמֶרֶת legal phrase; in Gen. 26:5 referred to R in a J connection. (5) בֵּין הָעָרֵבִים legal phrase. (6) חֻקַּת עוֹלָם legal phrase. (7) מִקְרָא legal phrase. (8) אַחֲזָה legal phrase.

##### WORDS USED IN ONE PASSAGE ONLY.

These, of course, afford no indication of a writer's style.

(a) לָטִים (or לְהָטִים) 7:11,22; 8:3,14. (b) פִּיחַ 9:8,10. (c) אֲנִעֲבֶתָה 9:9,10.

All of these (except No. 1) and several of the preceding are legal phrases and not to be looked for in any but a ritual connection.

\* The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., pp. 36,37.

## 2. LANGUAGE OF J.\*

It will be observed that almost every word here classed as belonging to J occurs likewise in E, so that they are indistinguishable in diction.

## OLD WORDS.

(1) מֵאֵן Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (2) יְדוּהָה (also in E). (3) לִקְרֹאת Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E, once P). (4) חֲשָׁה Sect. 12, Lang. of J (only four times in Hex.; twice J, twice cut out of an E and P context and ascribed to J). (5) עָתָר Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (6) צִנֵּק Sect. 2, Lang. of J (also E). (7) עַל רֹכֶר Gen. 12:17; 48:18; Ex. 8:8 J; Gen. 20:11 E; Num. 17:14; 25:18 b & P; Gen. 20:18; Num. 31:18 R; Deut. 22:24 b & c; 23:5 D; all in Hex. (8) שִׁים V., p. 154 (also in P and E). (9) בָּאֵשׁ Sect. 13, Lang. of E. (10) הִשְׁכֵּם Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also E). (11) רָק Sect. 3, Lang. of J (also E). (12) יֹכֵף Sect. 2, Lang. of J (also E). (13) פָּעַם V., p. 155 (Josh. 6:18a E). (14) מִקְנֶה Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E and P). (15) אָנֹכִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J (also E, once P). (16) חָרַל Sect. 10, Lang. of E (once P). (17) מָרַם V., p. 156 (also E, once P). (18) מָחָר Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also E). (19) נָשָׂא (= forgive) Sect. 6, Lang. of J (also E). (20) נָא Sect. 12, Lang. of E. (21) הִשְׁמַר לָךְ Sect. 7, Lang. of J (also E). (22) לֵן (= permit) Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (23) קָרַר Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (24) גֵּרָשׁ V., p. 154 (also E and P). (25) הִתְמַחֵמָה Sect. 11, Lang. of J (only three times in Hex.). (26) עֹב (= Nile) Sect. 13, Lang. of E. (27) עֹבֵב Sect. 13, Lang. of J (also E). (28) חָרַר Gen. 48:30; Ex. 7:28 J; Deut. 32:25 poem inserted by J

but not composed by him; all in Hex. (29) אֶרְמָה V., p. 153 (also P and E). (30) צָבַר Ex. 8:10 J; Gen. 41:35,49 cut out of E connection and assigned to J; all in Hex. (31) תָּלַל Gen. 31:7 E; Ex. 8:25b J (Well.) E (Dill.); all in Hex.

## NEW WORDS.

(1) נָנַף Ex. 7:27; 12:23 b & c, 27; Lev. 26:17; Num. 14:42 J; Ex. 21:22,35 E; Josh. 24:5 cut out from E context and referred to J purely on account of this word; Ex. 32:35 R; all in Hex. except three times in Deuteronomy.

(2) מִשְׁמַרֶּת Ex. 7:28; 12:34 J; all in Hex. except twice in Deuteronomy.

(3) פָּלַח Ex. 8:18; 9:4; 11:7; 33:16 J; all in Hex.

(4) יָסַר Ex. 9:18; Josh. 8:26 J; all in Hex.

(5) כִּסְּהָ עֵין הָאָרֶץ Ex. 10:5,15 J; Num. 22:5, 11 E; all in Hex.

(6) חָרַן לָשׁוֹן Ex. 11:7 J; Josh. 10:21 E; all in Hex.

(7) חָרִי אֵף Ex. 11:8 J; all in Hex. except once in Deuteronomy.

## WORDS FOUND NOWHERE ELSE IN THE HEXATEUCH.

These, of course, are destitute of all significance.

(1) רוּחָה Ex. 8:11. (2) עָרִיב Ex. 8:17 b & c, 18, 20 b & c, 25, 27. (3) פְּרוֹת Ex. 8:19. (4) סָלַל Ex. 9:17. (5) עוֹן Hiph. Ex. 9:19. (6) כָּף Ex. 12:22. (7) פָּסַח verb Ex. 12:23, 27 J; 12:16 P.

## 3. LANGUAGE OF E†

Every one of these words, that occurs in the Hex. more than once, is to be found likewise in J.

## OLD WORDS.

(1) הִיאָר (= Nile) Lang. of J just preceding. (2) בָּאֵשׁ Lang. of J just preceding. (3) לֵאמֹה Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (4) שִׁית Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (5) חָפַר Sect. 6, Lang. of E (also J). (6) רָק Lang. of J just preceding. (7) חָרַל Lang. of J just preceding. (8) טָף Sect. 11, Lang. of J. (9) נָא Lang. of J just preceding. (10) בָּקַשׁ Sect. 10, Lang. of E (also J). (11) גֵּרָשׁ Lang. of J just preceding. (12) קִרְיִים Sect. 10, Lang. of

E (also J). (13) אֲנִי + personal pronoun Sect. 6, Lang. of E (also J and P).

## NEW WORDS.

(1) וָאֵשׁ מִתְלַקַּחַת Ex. 9:24; all in Hex. (2) פִּשְׁתָּהּ Ex. 9:31 b & c; all in Hex. (3) נִבְעַל Ex. 9:31; all in Hex. (4) נָתַךְ Ex. 9:33 J; nowhere else. (5) אֶפְלַח Ex. 9:32; nowhere else. אֶפְלַח Ex. 10:32; all in Hex. except once in Deuteronomy. (6) גָּבַר Ex. 10:11; 12:37 E; Num. 24:3,15; Josh. 7:14,17,18 J; all in Hex. except once in Deuteronomy.

\* The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., pp. 42,43.

† The numbers are those of *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 47.



## THE BLESSING OF ISAAC, GEN. XXVII.—A STUDY IN PENTATEUCHAL ANALYSIS.

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Since the analysis of Wellhausen in *Jahrbuch f. Deutsche Theologie*, XXI., 1876, some of the more important elements in this problem, the separation of the two strands J and E of the prophetic narrative, may be considered determined. It is certain that both J and E related almost identically the same story of usurpation on Jacob's part (cf. Gen. xxxii. 3 sqq. in J, and xxxv. 1 in E) and that the two accounts are closely interwoven in chapter xxvii. J's story certainly turned upon the deception of Isaac through the smell of Esau's garments which Rebekah had put upon Jacob (cf. v. 15 with vs. 24-27), and E's upon a much more improbable deception of the blind father by the sense of touch, the goat's hair covering of neck and hands suggesting to Isaac the hairy arms and neck of Esau (cf. vs. 11-14, 16, with 21-23). A few other doublets (30a = 30b, 44 = 45a), some few allusions to already determined portions of J or E (cf. v. 29b with xii. 3; Num. xxiv. 9, and v. 36 with xxv. 29 sqq), with a few linguistic marks (יהוה vs. 7, 20, 27, אלהים, v. 28, E's formula of address vs. 1, 18,—cf. xxii. 1, 7, 11; xxxi. 11, etc.—“his eyes were dim so that he could not see”—cf. xlviii. 10; Dent. xxxiv. 7 and contrast 1 Sam. iv. 15, 1 Kgs. xiv. 4, אך vs. 13 and 30, and others less important) are all the *prima facie* clues afforded by this singularly difficult chapter.

For the purpose, however, of an approximate analysis we may rely with a fair degree of confidence upon the recurrence of certain characteristic phrases such as every writer is prone to repeat. When a certain reiterated idea is expressed by the same formula again and again in one series of sentences and in a second parallel series a somewhat different formula is employed, the *prima facie* evidence of unity of authorship in each series is tolerably strong, even when no shade of difference in the conception is discernible. Such recurrent phrases meet us in ch. xxvii. In vs. 19, 25, and 31 the collocation of the words, “venison, that { thy / my } soul may bless { me / thee }” is quite striking.

The same phrase meets us also in vs. 3, 4, but broken in two by one of similar import but different form of expression: “Make me savoury meat such as I love, and bring it to me, that I may eat and bless thee before my death.” This second, longer phrase reappears as regularly as the first. It is quoted somewhat more briefly in v. 7, with the brief interruption “before Yahweh,” as what Rebekah



heard said before (v. 4). In v. 10 she again repeats it exactly, uninterrupted and complete. Part appears again in v. 14, and part in vs. 17 and 31.

Now, although the conception of both writers is doubtless as nearly as possible identical, xxv. 28 (J), which specifies "venison" as the occasion of Isaac's preference for Esau, suggests strongly that J is to be regarded as the user of the phrase "Bring me venison that my soul may bless thee," and this hypothesis agrees with the other phenomena of the text. The converse holds true of the longer phrase and the E passages. I venture, therefore, to connect together the fragments in vs. 3, 4, and 7, as follows: "Go out to the field and take me venison," "that my soul may bless thee," "before Yahweh;" and to complete E in v. 4 by inserting, as vs. 7 and 10 require, "and bless thee" in place of, "that my soul may bless thee."

Another recurrent phrase is the thrice repeated **שְׁמַע בְּקוֹלִי** as a form of address, "and now, my son, obey my voice," fullest in v. 8 but occurring also in vs. (8?) 13 and 43. No exactly equivalent example is found except Ex. xviii. 19, an indisputable E passage, and hence a certain degree of probability is given for assigning these verses to E. Here again we find ourselves in harmony with all other clues.

The first half of the chapter, vs. 1-27, may therefore be divided with some degree of confidence as follows. J = v. 1 to **מֵרָאָה**, v. 3 except **וַעֲתָה**, the words **בַּעֲבוּר חֶרֶבְךָ נִפְשִׁי** in v. 4 + the words **לִפְנֵי יְהוָה** from v. 7, 5b, 6, **הֵבִיאָה לִי צִיד** in v. 7, v. 15, 18, from **מִי אַתָּה בְּנִי** (cf. v. 32), 19, 20, 24-27. The remaining portions constitute E's narrative.

According to this analysis the two accounts will be read as follows:

## J.

1a. And it came to pass, when Isaac was old, that his eyes were dim so that he could not see. [And he called Esau and said.] 3. Take, I pray thee, thy weapons, thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field and take me venison, 4, that my soul may bless thee before Yahweh. 5. And Esau went to the field to hunt for venison and to bring it. 6. And Rebekah spake unto Jacob her son, saying, Behold I heard thy father speak unto Esau thy brother, saying, 7. Bring me venison. . . . 15. And Rebekah took the goodly raiment of Esau her eldest son, which were with her in the house and put them upon Jacob her younger son, [and gave him the flesh of the kids which she had prepared and he came unto his father. And Isaac said] 18b. Who art thou my son? 19. And Jacob said to his father, I am Esau, thy firstborn; I have done according as thou badest me: arise, I pray thee, sit and eat of my venison, that thy soul may bless me. 20. And Isaac said unto his son, How is it that thou hast found it so quickly, my son? And he said, Because Yahweh thy God sent me good speed. 24. And he said, Art thou my very son Esau? And he said, I am. 25. And he

said, Bring it near to me and I will eat of my son's venison, that my soul may bless thee. And he brought it near to him, and he did eat: and he brought him wine and he drank. 26. And his father Isaac said unto him, Come near now, and kiss me, my son. 27. And he came near and kissed him: and he smelled the smell of his raiment, and blessed him, and said, See, the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which Yahweh hath blessed."

## E.

"1b. And [Isaac] called Esau his elder son and said unto him, My son; and he said unto him, Here am I. 2. And he said, Behold now I am old, I know not the day of my death. 3. Now therefore... and make me savoury meat, such as I love, and bring it to me that I may eat [and bless thee] before I die. 5. And Rebekah heard when Isaac spake to Esau his son [and she said unto Jacob, Behold thy father hath commanded Esau saying], 7. Make me savoury meat that I may eat and bless thee before my death. 8. Now therefore, my son, obey my voice according to that which I command thee. 9. Go now to the flock, and fetch me from thence two good kids of the goats: and I will make them savoury meat for thy father such as he loveth: and thou shalt bring it to thy father, that he may eat, so that he may bless thee before his death. 11. And Jacob said to Rebekah his mother, Behold, Esau my brother is a hairy man, and I am a smooth man. 12. My father peradventure will feel me, and I shall seem to him as a deceiver; and I shall bring a curse upon me, and not a blessing. 13. And his mother said unto him, Upon me be thy curse, my son; only obey my voice, and go and fetch them. 14. And he went and fetched, and brought them to his mother: and his mother made savoury meat such as his father loved. 16. And she put the skins of the kids of the goats upon his hands, and upon the smooth of his neck: 17. and she gave the savoury meat and the bread which she had prepared into the hand of her son Jacob. 18. And he came to his father and said, My father: and he said, Here am I... 21. And Isaac said unto Jacob, Come near, I pray thee, that I may feel thee, my son, whether thou be my very son Esau or not. 22. And Jacob drew near unto Isaac his father; and he felt him, and said, The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau. 23. And he discerned him not, because his hands were hairy as his brother Esau's hands: so he blessed him."

It is in the latter half of the chapter that we meet the real puzzle, and here the most trustworthy key is certainly the antistrophe, vs. 39 and 40.

Here, where there is no trace of more than one hand (cf. vs. 27-28, יְהוָה and אֱלֹהִים), if anywhere, we shall best be able to make out the metrical form, if such there was, in the poem of the blessing of Isaac which underlies and is quoted in the present narrative. So long however as it can still be considered a question whether Hebrew poetry possessed a metrical form, conjectures in this field must

of course be open to the freest criticism and can be offered only with the greatest diffidence. Still vs. 39, 40 stand in an unmistakable relation of contrast to vs. 28, 29, and offer such an inviting appearance of regularity that one can scarcely resist the impression of strophe and antistrophe to which the sense so admirably lends itself. If so, the later verses must give the metrical norm, for the reason above stated. Without alteration of the text or violence to sense or parallelism the verses resolve themselves into an antistrophe consisting of two pairs of alternate pentameter and trimeter lines, the former divided by caesura after the third foot, and the strophe itself concluded by a line of four feet without caesura, or pentameter catalectic. Thus divided the verse reads as follows :

הנה משמני הארץ || יהיה מושבך  
ומטל השמים מעל  
ועל חרבך תחיה || ואת-אחייך תעבר  
והיה כאשר תריד  
ופרכת עלו מעל צוארך

or, reproducing the meter and cadence in the translation,

Far from the fatness of earth || henceforth be thy dwelling  
Far from the dews of the heavens.  
Subsistence thou'lt gain by thy sword, || subject still to thy brother ;  
But struggling at length to be free,  
Shalt ever shake off his yoke from thy shoulder.

Applying this antistrophe to the lines of verses 27-29, the greater length of the latter confirms at once the judgment of analytical criticism that the two poetical stanzas are here combined in one. Unfortunately the meter in both portions (J and E) appears to be identical and hence gives no assistance in the separation. We have, however, other clews. The first two lines are assured to J by יהוה and by the connection with 27a. The last two lines also can scarcely be denied to the author of Gen. XII. 3, and the first two lines of v. 29 remind one strongly of the blessing of Abram as it appears in J.

On the other hand, האלהים establishes the derivation of the first two lines in v. 28 from E, and, as a necessary consequence, the first two lines of the antistrophe which depend upon them for significance. But the antistrophe is not separable, and involves with itself v. 37. This latter verse determines in its turn the source of the third line in v. 28 and the third and fourth lines of v. 29. The result is two strophes as follows :

J.

ראה ריח בני || כריח שדה  
 אשר ברכו יהוה  
 ישתחו לך לאמים || ועבדוך עמים  
 .....  
 ארריך ארור ומברכך ברוך

Possibly we should supply as the fourth line a phrase usually occurring in these blessings (cf. Gen. XII. 3) **ונברכו כן כל-המשפחות**. Translating as before, we should have the following strophe:

Is not the smell of my son || like the smell of a field  
 Which Yahweh hath watered with blessing?  
 Nations shall bow before thee || and peoples shall serve thee,  
 [For in thee all tribes shall be blest].  
 Blessing thee shall be blessing, and cursing thee curse.

In this case the order of the two portions of line three is inverted. But it may equally well be that **וישתחו לך לאמים** is in its proper position and the missing portion is the first part of line three.

The strophe of E seems also to be slightly deficient.

יתן לך האלהים || מטל השמים  
 ומשמני הארץ .....  
 ורב רגן ותירוש || .....  
 הוה גביר לאחריך  
 וישתחו לך בני אמך

The second and third lines appear incomplete. In the former the corresponding line of the antistrophe suggests **מתחת** as the missing word. In the latter case v. 37 supplies something like **יסמך הארמה**— We translate:

Abundance of dew from the heavens || thy God shall afford thee,  
 And the fatness of earth [from beneath.]  
 With plenty of corn and wine || [thy land shall sustain thee.]  
 A lord thou shalt be to thy brethren.  
 To thee shall bow down all the sons of thy mother.

The prose portion of the narrative, vs. 30-38, 41-45, according to the clues already employed offer the following analysis, J = 30a, etc., 31b-33, 36a, 41a, 45. E = 30b, 31a, 34sq., 36b-40, 41b-44. V. 46 is, of course, a part of the Priestly element though probably due to R. No certainty can attach to the details of the

above analysis, yet there can be no doubt of the main points, and it is satisfactory to be able to complete the parallel columns of J and E in even an approximate way.

If anything of our attempted analysis of the poetic portions survives the criticism of more experienced judges, it will be not only a matter of interest to bring to view so noble an example of strophe and antistrophe, employing such a variety of meter, but the recognition of two poetical fragments so closely allied and apparently identical in meter, underlying respectively J and E, will prove of importance to the problem of the origin and mutual relation of these two elements of the Prophetic Narrative. Other examples of a combination of nearly identical poetic fragments in JE are not wanting, as e. g., in the Song of Balaam. Cf. Num. XXIII. 21b-24 with Num. XXIV. 7b-9; the Song of Miriam, Ex. xv. 1 and 21. But these have been disputed, the resemblance of the passages being considered due to an interpolation, or accounted for otherwise than as part of the general parallelism of J and E. The possibility suggests itself that Gen. XLIX. 22-26 is another instance of a fragment derived from E's poetical source corresponding to a similar source employed by J and followed by JE in the rest of the Blessing of Jacob. (Cf. *אל שרי* v. 25 with *יהוה* v. 18, and the failure in v. 22 alone to begin the strophe with the name of the tribe; notice also the strongly marked peculiarities of this part of the poem, and contrast the assigning of the hegemony of the tribes to Joseph with the similar tribute to Judah in vs. 2-10; finally compare the unity of the remaining portions, their apparent relation to the Song of Deborah and adaptation to the period not long after, with the seeming allusion to the Syrian wars in v. 23. There are, however, strong objections).

A recognition of this, as the true explanation of the resemblances in the poetic portions of J and E, makes the idea that these writers themselves compared the poetic portions of their narrative still more improbable if not totally out of the question. The dependent writer would certainly have made his work in these portions either far more similar or far less so.

Again all this carries back the divergences of J and E one step further than has heretofore been commonly assumed. They did not draw from a common (i. e. identical) fund of tradition and minstrelsy. Two versions of the folk-songs existed, perhaps even written versions, possibly the same often cited "Book of Jashar" (E) and "Book of the wars of Yahweh" (J), and to these differing collections, for which Renan has furnished us the analogy in his oft adduced *Khitab el Aghani*, might perhaps be referred many of the idiosyncrasies of our present J and E documents. Gen. XII. 2sq. looks like a prose rendering of some poetic blessing like that which ends with *אוריך אור ומברכך ברוך* in Gen. XXVII. 29 and with the same words reversed in order, Num. XXIV. 9. Such phenomena tend to confirm the theory that the Genesis narratives stand in the same relation to their poetic originals as Judg. IV. to Judg. v.

# THE SIGN OF THE BREATH AT THE END OF WORDS IN THE NEW-BABYLONIAN AND ACHÆMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

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During my investigation of the vowels at the end of the Assyrian verb, my attention was also directed to a subject, about which, so far as I know, nothing definite has been written, viz: the sign for 'Alêph which is found so often at the end of words. Delitzsch, *Dg.*, p. 55, says: "Numerous examples of a breath at the end of words are found in the Achæmenian inscriptions, but the origin and purpose of this orthography is as yet obscure." The breath is not found exclusively in the Achæmenian inscriptions, although it is of very frequent occurrence, but also in the New-Babylonian texts from the time of Nebuchadnezzar II. on. It appears, however, in this period, so far as I know now, to be limited to the contract-literature and to be avoided in the more archaic royal inscriptions. I will present now a number of examples in which all the different cases of this breath, of which I know, are considered.

The breath is found:

1) After a final *a*: *ib-ša-' they were* (sc. *mâtâti*), NR. 25, D. 15; *a-ga-' this D.* 2, 13; *i-pu-ša-'* (sc. *mâtâti*), H. 14; *ar-ḥa-a-ta-' monthly*, Nab. Strassm. 282, 6; *Ar-ia-ra-am-na-' Beh.* 2; *Ra-ga-' Beh.* 69; *Pa-ra-da-' Beh.* 69, 93; *U-ri-mi-iṣ-da-' Beh.* 7, 9, 10, etc.; *du-ka-' kill*, Beh. 79; *rugum-ma-' Peiser, KAST.* VIII. 15; *Hi-ši-'-ar-si-' Xerxes*, C. 3, 8; Cb. 5, 8, 14, etc.

2) After final *e*: *mu-te-'-e-me-'* (plur.) *rulers*, E. 4.

3) After final *i*: *A-ḥa-ma-niṣ-ši-' the Achæmenian*, HR. 4, NR. 6; *A-ni-ri-' Beh.* 31; *Sa-mi-e-it-ri-' Neb. Strassm.* 7, 3, etc.

4) After final *u*: *Mar-gu-' Beh.* 68; *Ma-ru-' Beh.* 45; *U-iz-pa-ru-' Beh.* 110; in verbal forms—all of which are 3d per. plur.: *ip-pu-šu-' Beh.* 8; *ip-pu-uṣ-šu-' NR.* 11; *ku-ul-lu-' Beh.* 34; *it-te-ig-ru-' Beh.* 16, 30; *bal-tu-'* (Permansive) H. 3; *i-nam-di-nu-' Peiser, KAST.* VI. 20; *id-dan-nu-' ib.* IX. 43; the same Neb. Strassm. 26, 5 and Nab. Strassm. 368, 9, etc.; *ṣak-nu-' Nab. Strassm.* 310, 4, etc.

5) After a final consonant: *A-ḥa-ma-ni-ṣ-' the Achæmenian*, Beh. 1; *i-na-ṣar-'* (3d per. plur. masc.) *KAST.* XIX. 22; *u-tir-ir'* (3d per. plur.



masc.) *ib.* IX. 42, etc.; *Pi-ir-*' *ib.* IV. 8, VI. 13, etc.; as phonetic complement, Nab. Strassm. 243, 13; 270, 8; 340, 6, etc.

From these examples one can see at once that this final breath cannot, as is usually the case, be the sign for 'Alëph, except in the proper name *Pir*', stem פִּיר—because the etymologies of these forms will not allow it. If we compare the forms in which the breath stands after a final vowel, we see: 1) that the breath can stand after all the vowels (*a, e, i, u*) and 2) that it stands only after long vowels, and exclusively after those in which the length of the vowel is not particularly indicated by the addition of the simple vowel, and which also, so far as the outward form is concerned could be read short as well as long. It is not necessary to bring forward any proof for the length of the final vowels in 3d plur. masc. and fem. (*û* and *â*). In the other forms, the parallel passages prove this, e. g., with *a-ga-*' usually *a-ga-a* in the Achaemenian texts; with *A-ḥa-ma-niṣ-ṣi-*', *A-ḥa-ma-an-ni-iṣ-ṣi-i* F. 20; with *mu-te-'-e-me-*', *mu-ta-'-i-me-e* F. 11; with *ru-gum-ma-*', *ru-gu-um-ma-a* KAst. IV. 6, etc. In the case of the Persian proper names these comparative parallel writings cannot be brought forward, because they are very seldom found. Again, because some of these in the Persian end in a short vowel, one cannot conclude that in the Assyrian also they were pronounced with a short final vowel. All the other examples go to prove that the breath is found at the end of a word only after long vowels. Is this coincidence only a chance one? This cannot be accepted, but, on the other hand, the breath serves to mark the length of the vowel in question in forms ending in a vowel. If this is the case, only two possibilities can be thought of: either 1) this breath is a general sign of length, that is only an orthographical sign or, 2) corresponding to the otherwise usual method of lengthening vowels, which is exclusively expressed by the addition of the corresponding vowel to the syllabic sign ending in a vowel, it must then be able to express all the vowel sounds, and must have the values *a, e, i, u*, because it is found after all the vowels.

The examples with consonants at the end show that the first of these two possibilities cannot be accepted. Forms like *inaṣar*' (3d plur. masc.), *utir*' (3d plur.) *inamdin*' (3d plur.) etc., must of necessity end in a vowel—in these cases *û*. Compare also *Aḥamaniṣ*' the Achaemenian, which according to NR. 4, F. 20 must end in *i*; *Pir*' which in all probability is to be read *Pirî*, *my offspring*; while *kaspa-*' must be read *kaspâ*. From these examples, it can be seen that the breath has lost its original consonantal value, and that it has now only the value of a vowel. It stands, however, not for *one* vowel, but it can represent *all* the vowels. On the other hand, there are numerous examples to show that the breath is still used in places where it corresponds to its original value.

Another question naturally arises, viz.: how was it possible for the breath, after it had lost its consonantal force to go over to the meaning given above. If

we look to the cognate languages, we find something similar in the Hebrew. The **N** has lost its consonantal force in part and is found, after a long vowel at the end of a word, as a sign of length; cf. e. g., הֵלְכוּ they went for הֵלְכוּ, Josh. XIX. 24; לָאֵל for לָאֵ, etc. The breath in Assyrian is never found as a simple sign of length. The reason why **N** is retained as a mere orthographical sign after it has lost its consonantal force, while in the Assyrian the spirans has taken on the value of a vowel is in my opinion to be found in the difference between the Hebrew and the Assyrian writing. The Hebrew writing is alphabetic; when the single letter lost its consonantal force, there was nothing else to do except to retain it as an orthographical sign. The Assyrian, on the other hand, is a syllabic language, i. e., every sign has not only a consonantal value but also that of a vowel which is inseparably connected with it. If the consonantal value of a sign were lost, the vocalic value connected with it must nevertheless be retained. The sign (No. 7, Dg.) had the values: 'a, 'i, 'u, a', i', u', and could be pronounced with all the original vowels—e is only secondary. When it lost its force, there were left the vowels with which it was originally spoken, viz.: a, i, u (and e) as we have shown above. It would have been only one step further for it to throw off this value and to become simply a sign of length. As the dates of the inscriptions, in which the above mentioned use of the breath is common, show, this decay is first seen in a very late period in the development of the language.

## ➤BOOK NOTICES.◀

### SELLIN'S VERBAL-NOMINALE DOPPELNATUR DER HEBRÄISCHEN PARTICIPIEN UND INFINITIVE.\*

In this essay, Dr. Sellin has given us a careful inductive treatment of the participle and infinitive, but in connection with these forms he has handled as well, other subjects relating to the syntax and history of the verb. This has been necessitated by the theory on which he has worked. The general plan of this book may be stated as follows: After discussing certain preliminary questions, he proceeds to consider the relation of the Part. to the verb and noun, on the ground of its formation; of its use in the sentence; and of its construction with a following noun. The same order is followed when treating the Infinitive.

In the preliminary inquiries the author vigorously attacks the commonly accepted distinctions between verbs and nouns. Neither action nor time, he says, can be received as giving us the proper differentiation. Grammarians have too often attempted to foist Indo-Germanic analogies upon Semitic grammar. The simple distinction is this, the noun gives us merely a person or thing, the verb unites person or thing with some statement about it. The noun can and does express action, the nominal sentence could not exist in such variety were this not true. From such considerations is found an argument for the priority of the noun to the verb, a priority which it would be absurd to claim, were there no nouns of action, state or suffering, but given these we have till the constituents needful for intelligent vigorous speech.

The priority of the noun to the verb is then his fundamental thesis, which he proceeds further to illustrate and defend, and which is closely linked with his views regarding the Part. The original participial form he considers to have been *qatal*, and in his treatment of the relation of Part. to verb and noun on the ground of formation, many striking facts at once present themselves. The fact that the Part. and the 3d masc. sing. Perf. of the Stative verb are identical is noteworthy; so also is it, that the *י"ע* Part. Qāl, and the Qāl Perf. go back to the same ground form. The *ה"ל* Parts. have for their final vowel an original short *ä*. And this is true of many strong feminine forms. Add to this that the Niphāl Part. and Perf. are the same, that occasional forms of Parts. of derived stems occur without preformative *נ* (e. g., *אָפֵל* Ex. III. 2), and the presumption is strong, not only that the prevalent *קָטַל* forms are a later growth, but that the Perf. 3d masc. sing. is but a noun adapted to new situations and uses. This position receives a new application when the author takes up the Qāl passive Part., which, he regards, not as a remnant of a lost passive stem, but as an undeveloped form, a form from which a passive system might have been evolved, but

\* DIE VERBAL-NOMINALE DOPPELNATUR DER HEBRÄISCHEN PARTICIPIEN UND INFINITIVE, UND IHRE DARAUf BERUHENDE VERSCHIEDENE CONSTRUCTION. Preis- und Promotionschrift, Leipzig, 1889, p. 86.

one which the Hebrew never thus utilized. This view would have consequence not only for Hebrew etymology, but also for some doubtful questions connected with Biblical Aramaic.

The tense system and the force of the tense forms are appealed to as another proof of the priority of the Part. The more common explanations of the tense are discarded. The Imperf., it is claimed, does not denote action as incomplete, but the incipience, incidence (Eintritt) of action, while the Perf. represents action as completed, or rather the conclusion of action. Taking this view, the Part. is seen to stand midway between the tenses; conclusion, continuance and incipience of action, being the ideas expressed by the three forms. The author, moreover, argues that if these three forms had been contemporaneous in development, the Part. would have received a like development with the Perf. and Imperf., but the fact that it has not, indicates that it is the primitive form, from which the others have sprung by the addition of preformatives or affirmatives. Another example along the same line is the Assyrian *Permansive*, a form which expresses, not completion like the Hebrew Perf., to which it is by formation allied, but continuance. Here we have the noun of action arrested in its progress toward tense development, provided with inflectional endings it is true, but unable to give up its true significance as a noun of *enduring* action.

We have further light from the Assyrian in the forms *yakaṭal yaktal*, which seem to spring directly from the noun of action, the second form having suffered syncope of the vowel.

It is a striking fact that the Part. in Syriac began to take on a complete verbal inflection, and thus a process is actually observed in the more recent history of the language, which has been hypothetically assumed for the early period. There are numerous examples in all languages of the conservative character of linguistic laws, and these show that a speech is not likely to leave its beaten paths nor to manufacture new forms by hitherto untried processes.

Nothing especially new is presented in the treatment of the syntax of Part. Its close relationship to the verb is noted here, and the final conclusion is reached that the Part. is a genuine and preverbal noun, the ancestral source of the verb, but yet a noun, which has in the development of the language taken on more or less of a verbal character.

The discussion of the Infin. is briefer and less interesting than that of the Part., many points having already been settled.

The Infins. are treated as secondary formations both in form and meaning. The same *qaṭal*, *qaṭil* and *qaṭul* forms which developed into the Perf. *qāṭal* and Imperf. *yaqāṭal*, became by syncope and vocalic assimilation *qaṭl*, *qiṭl*, *quṭl*, and thence arose the Infin. Const. of *Qṭl*. The similarity between the Perf. and Infin. Const. of the derived stems is obvious; hence these Infins. are assumed to have been the original participial nouns of their respective stems, and to have taken on an abstract meaning when displaced by the forms with *ṭ*.

The strict nominal character of the Infin. is further attested by the numerous feminine forms in use.

Many examples show that the verbal construction after the Infin. is the ruling one.

The positions of this essay seem to be well taken, and the arguments for the priority of the noun are forcible if not convincing.

There is still much to be said on the proper conception of the tense, particu-

larly of the Imperf., and the analogies and differences between the Assyrian forms and the Hebrew need still further elucidation.

The author's position as to the Passive Part.—its existence as an undeveloped form, is confessedly open to question, but it is certainly a striking fact that not a single assured trace of a Passive Qāl stem, aside from the Passive Part. is to be found in Hebrew.

I am not ready to accept the view that the *יִקְטֹל* form of the Imperf. is simply a differentiation of a more original *יִקְטֹל* form, nor is the author's account of the origin of Segholates from the *qāṭal*, *qāṭil* and *qāṭul* forms altogether satisfactory. Despite their abstract meaning these forms seem to stand nearer the simple root, and appear more likely to be the first products of speech than are the longer, bivocalic nouns.

But on the whole this essay is a very satisfactory treatment of a neglected department of Hebrew grammar, its method and spirit commend it to the reader, and we welcome all such attempts to shed a clearer light upon special questions of Semitic philology.

A. S. CARRIER.

#### THE DIVINE NAME ADONAJ AND ITS HISTORY.\*

A critical student of Hebrew philology seldom feels more satisfaction than will be experienced in reading this little book by Dr. Dalman. It is a rigidly scientific and thoroughly exhaustive examination of the word Adonaj, and especially of the obscure history of its substitution for the ancient and peculiarly sacred name of יהוה. To this task the author applies a surprising wealth of learning, and an untiring patience in the discovery and investigation of facts. The results also, as may be inferred, are considerably at variance with the hitherto commonly accepted results of a mere superficial study. A statement of the topics considered in the nine chapters will prepare us for a closer survey of the contents: 1. Baal, Adon, Adonaj. 2. Adonaj and Adoni. 3. The suffix of Adonaj. 4. A Survey of the Uses of Adonaj. 5. The Fact of the Substitution of Adonaj for Jahve. 6. Jewish Testimonies to the Uses of the Divine Name. 7. History and Significance of the Transition from Jahve to Adonaj. 8. The Names Lord and Christ. 9. Appendix: The Masora on Adonaj.

From a careful examination of the material at hand, little can be gleaned as to the actual history of אֲדֹנָי. There certainly does not appear to be any progress from a conscious use of the suffix to a meaningless use of the same. Some striking facts are, however, pointed out in connection with its use. "We find it pretty evenly distributed in the historical books, but it occurs only seldom in Ezra-Nehemiah, and not at all in the priestly sources of the Hexateuch, nor in Chronicles and Esther. If we assume Ps. xc. and following to be of later origin, we perceive the same decrease. Pss. I.-xc. have אֲדֹנָי forty-six times, Pss. xc.-cl. only nine times. In the prophets the use of אֲדֹנָי is clearly dependent on individual peculiarity. 1 Isaiah and Amos have it often, their contemporary Hosea not at all, and Micah only twice. In the Chaldean period it is found fre-

\* STUDIEN ZUR BIBLISCHEN THEOLOGIE: DER GOTTESNAME ADONAJ UND SEINE GESCHICHTE. Von Gustaf H. Dalman, Ph. D. Berlin: 1890. Pp. 91.



quently in Jeremiah, Ezekiel has it in extraordinary richness, 2 Isaiah less often, and Habakkuk and Zephaniah not at all. After the exile neither 1 Zechariah nor Haggai employ it, and Malachi only twice in passages probably emended. It is a remarkable fact that the very prophets who tell of a personal commission, a call of God to them, i. e., 1 Isaiah (vii. 9), Amos (vii. 15), Jeremiah (i. 10), Ezekiel (ii. 3), 2 Isaiah (xlvi. 16; l. 4), by preference use **אֲדֹנָי**, for which no other reason can be assigned than that the relation in which they stood to Yahweh was especially personal. At that time the suffix of **אֲדֹנָי** was certainly not meaningless."

It is certain, however, that in the time of Christ the force of the suffix had been effectively worn away, for **אֲדֹנָי** was employed in common oral usage as a substitute for **יְהוָה**. This substitution, which had taken place so thoroughly that no remembrance remained of an earlier use of **יְהוָה**, had probably been completed when the Greek translation of the Pentateuch was made. As to the nature of the transformations which took place in the time between Ezra-Nehemiah and the Maccabees, the Jews in Christ's time were wholly in the dark. Everything dating from that period they were disposed to regard as antique.

No express biblical reason for this long-established popular disuse of the name **יְהוָה** is found. A careful sifting of Jewish testimonies reveals, however, that this dread of uttering the divine name was common to the Alexandrian and Palestinian Judaism, and that it attached itself especially to Ex. xx. 7. If this commandment not to "take the name of the Lord thy God in vain" be understood of a mere utterance of the divine name, then there was abundant reason to dread the threatened penalty as well as the curses pronounced in Deut. xxviii. 59 sq. This **שֵׁם יְהוָה** was peculiar to Israel's God. It was the self-designation which separated him from all other beings, and which in an extraordinary manner he made representative of himself. The temple, above every other consideration, was the place to which he had attached his name. He leads the Psalmist into paths of righteousness "for his name's sake" (Ps. cxiii. 3). His people tread their enemies under foot "through his name" (Ps. xlv. 6). We find even an independent punitive activity attached to it (Isa. xxx. 27). The name **יְהוָה** was therefore pre-eminently holy. But "within the limits of the Priest-Code holiness means nothing else than separation. The fundamental idea in all the regulations of this Code is that just as nothing "common" i. e., belonging to the ordinary, secular life should come into holy use, so nothing holy should come into secular use. As rigidly as Israel by reason of its separation from the nations was to hold itself apart from them, so rigidly within Israel everything belonging to Yahweh was to be divided off from that which was not God's especial possession." Yahweh's name would, of course, be one of the first to fall within this category of things excluded from common use. "The time of the Mishnaic command to 'make a hedge about the Law' was about contemporary with the period when it was sought to protect the name **יְהוָה** from profanation by a prohibition of its use. The non-utterance of **יְהוָה**, which it was thought would make a desecration of this divine name impossible, was a hedge of rabbinical solicitude for the fulfilment of the command in Ex. xx. 7."

Two substitutes for this holy name offered themselves, both of which had corresponding terms in Aramaic and Greek, viz., **אֱלֹהִים** and **אֲדֹנָי**. Only the latter could be employed since it was the name which bound him who used it to



the service of Yahweh. Anyone of the heathen could say אֱלֹהִים, but only one who recognized the supremacy of Yahweh would call him אֲדֹנָי. At the same time the suffix lost its force, since the emphasis lay, not on a personal relation to God, but on his Lordship.

An examination of the later portion of Hebrew literature with respect to this suppression of the divine name exhibits some very remarkable results, and seems to warrant the inference that the movement began about the third century B. C., and became a complete fact a century later.

The fact itself was of deep significance as a preparation for Christianity, for with the introduction of the name אֲדֹנָי Israel's God began his triumphant march among the nations as the Lord of the world. It comes to us in the corresponding Greek form *κύριος*, the full significance of which passed over to him who at the close of the Old Covenant made God comprehensible to humanity, and in whom the fullness of the Godhead took living form. "The divine name Adonaj contains therefore germinally the final goal of all history, the union of a collected humanity under one head—Christ."

Such are the main results of this painstaking investigation of all the available facts bearing on the meaning and use of this divine name. Passing all minor criticisms, we are confident that in the main the author has successfully refuted the prevailing notion that the Jewish dread of pronouncing the name יְהוָה rests upon a mere mistranslation in the LXX, of Lev. xxiv. 16. The cause lies far deeper than this. It is traceable to that extraordinary degeneracy of the Mosaic religion into rabbinical Judaism which annihilated the free and lofty spirit of the Law beneath a grinding bondage of the latter.

PHILIP A. NORDELL.

### SEMITIC RELIGION.\*

The new book of Prof. W. Robertson Smith is one of the series of Burnett lectures. Three series are contemplated on the same subject, to-wit: The Primitive Religions of the Semitic Peoples viewed in relation to other ancient religions and to the spiritual religion of the Old Testament and of Christianity. The inquiry is a proper one. For the revelation of the Old Testament was built upon some sort of foundation already in existence, and it is quite certain that the first stones of this foundation were already laid when the Semites [why not *Shemites*?] existed as one people. That this primitive religion existed longest among the Arabs is altogether likely. To a certain extent the present book covers the same ground with Wellhausen's *Reste Arabischen Heidenthums*, to which indeed the author makes frequent reference. It covers broader ground than that book, however, and the criticism likely to be made is that the ground covered is too broad. In some portions the preliminary work is not yet done. The Assyrian and Babylonian religion is indeed excluded as having lost the primitive Semitic features.

The plan of the work is as follows: After an introductory chapter defining the subject and the method of inquiry the author takes up "The Nature of the

\* LECTURES ON THE RELIGION OF THE SEMITES. First Series, the Fundamental Institutions. By W. Robertson Smith, M. A., LL. D., Fellow of Christ's College and Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1890 (xii and 488 pages).

Religious Community and the Relation of the Gods to their Worshippers"; he then considers the relation of the gods to natural things, holy places and objects including sanctuaries. With the sixth lecture we enter upon the consideration of *sacrifice* and this fills the remainder of the book—something over half the body of the book. An appendix gives some additional notes on points that could not be fully brought out in the lectures, and there is an index of Scripture passages as well as a general index.

The author's theory may be said to be that *totemism* is the earliest form of Semitic religion. The origin of sacrifice must be sought here. Not as though it were impossible for a rude nation to feast its god on animal food. This is recognized as a probable origin for the lower order of sacrifices as well as for the vegetable offerings found in the Hebrew liturgy. But the mere bringing of a present or providing the god with food will not account for the more solemn (as the author calls them *piacular*) sacrifices, which in the Law really overshadow the others. These must be explained in another way. In totemism now we find the idea of the kinship of the god [an animal] with his worshippers. Equally we find the individual animals represented as akin to both god and worshippers. A pastoral tribe is likely to worship the ox and to hold every individual ox or cow to be an embodiment of the divinity. The animal life is therefore on a par with the life of the clan or even more sacred. The life of a clansman can be lawfully taken only by the act of the whole clan. The life of the sacred bull can be taken only under the same restrictions. But on certain great festivals it may be taken in order to show the communion of the god and his people. In a lower stage of thought the conception is that the blood of the kin (its life) must be renewed by partaking of the common blood flowing in the veins of a kinsman—animal or human. Piacular sacrifices are sacramental sacrifices. The idea of the sacredness of certain things, however, culminates in the prohibition to touch them, as in the taboo of the South Sea islanders. This also was developed among the Semites until the piacular sacrifices were regarded as too sacred to be eaten even by the priests or by those engaged in the most solemn act of worship. Hence as in the ritual of the Day of Atonement, they must be sent away or burned without the camp.

The argument is illustrated and enforced with an immense array of examples drawn from all parts of the Semitic field. Yet the impression made upon the present reviewer is—"not proven." Two facts are apparently ignored which might throw light upon the discussion. One is the uncleanness [sacredness] of the dead in the Hebrew religion, emphasized by Stade in his *History* as the basis of that religion. The other is the sacredness of fire as possibly connected with the burning of offerings, and as certainly exemplified in the worship of the hearth in primitive society.

Perhaps it is hardly fair to judge the main argument until the promised second and third parts of the work appear. Even if it shall then be received with reserve, there can be no question that the work is full of instruction both for the general reader and for the Old Testament student. The old Arabic religion is presented to us more fully here than in any other single work even in German. Almost every page furnishes us with something of value. Especially striking is the evidence that we have got beyond Renan's "Semitic monotheism" as well as the "natural capacity of the Hebrews for religion" once so widely asserted. Professor Smith distinguishes very clearly between the natural religion of the Semites and the religion proclaimed by the prophets. In heathen religion "there is no

explanation of the god's change of mind," and the same is true of the natural religion of the Hebrews. "The mass of the Hebrews before the exile received with blank incredulity the prophetic teaching that Yahweh was ready to enforce his law of righteousness even by the destruction of the sinful commonwealth of Israel. To the prophets Yahweh's long-suffering meant the patience with which he offers repeated calls to repentance, and defers punishment while there is hope of amendment; but to the heathen and to the heathenly-minded in Israel the long-suffering of the gods meant a disposition to overlook the offences of their worshippers" (p. 62). The progress of heathenism is shown in another place to have widened the gulf between the deity and man without compensating benefit, but "the Hebrew ideal of a divine kingship that must one day draw all men to do it homage offered better things than these *not in virtue of any feature that it possessed in common with the Semitic religions as a whole*, but solely in virtue of its unique conception of Yahweh as a God whose love for his people was conditioned by a law of absolute righteousness" (p. 81, the italics are mine). As an example of the energy with which the author rejects certain current assertions note: "It is often said that the original Semitic conception of the godhead was abstract and transcendental; that while Aryan religion with its poetic mythology drew the gods down into the sphere of nature and of human life, Semitic religion always showed an opposite tendency, that it sought to remove the gods as far as possible from man, and even contained within itself from the first the seeds of an abstract deism. . . . All this is mere unfounded assumption." As to the oft-quoted *primus in orbe deos fecit timor* he says: "But however true it is that savage man feels himself to be environed by innumerable dangers which he does not understand, and so personifies as invisible or mysterious enemies of more than human power, it is not true that the attempt to appease these powers is the foundation of religion. From the earliest times religion as distinct from magic or sorcery addresses itself to kindred and friendly beings, who may indeed be angry with their people for a time, but are always placable except to the enemies of their worshippers or to renegade members of the community" (p. 55).

The interest of the book may be illustrated by these quotations which might be multiplied indefinitely. It is of course easy to put interrogation marks at many points. The author himself makes reservations and does not expect that his deductions will be received without question. But the book marks a distinct advance in the science of religions.

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### THE COLLOQUY OF MOSES ON MOUNT SINAI.

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Metropolitan Museum, New York City.

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This colloquy is one of the compositions contained in a manuscript received by me in June, 1889, from Urmī, from which "The Story of Arsenius King of Egypt" has already appeared in *HEBRAICA*. The colloquy occupies the first fifteen pages of the manuscript, and, like the other portions, is pretty fairly written, with abundant points. The scribe has made a number of obvious clerical slips, and a great many mistakes in the pointing. The voyage dampened the mucilaginous ink in spots, causing the pages to stick together, and tear when separated, adding more pains in decipherment than one likes to spend over a modern copy; but not more than one word was thus rendered doubtful. The scribe's abbreviations I have generally spelled out, denoting the letters thus added by inclosing them in brackets. The pointing I have not thought worth while to retain, except in spots where, for one reason or another, it seemed desirable. The punctuation in our sense, however, I have retained, chiefly to show how necessary it is for the translator to disregard it. When punctuation (like our colon) follows letters supplied in brackets, it is a note of abbreviation merely, and I might perhaps better have omitted it.

Except the textual notes added to the text and translation, there seems no need of comment. Much might be added, however, to show that, whatever be the origin and transmission of the story, it has much in common with the Nestorian church services; some of it (for instance) coinciding verbally with passages in the order for the first Saturday of the Great Fast, or Lent.

But I shall not attempt to go into the origin of the story, nor of its age. I know of no other Syriac copy of the story, but a Karshun version appears to exist in the British Museum (7209 Rich, No. 16. See Rosen and Forshall's Cat., 109-





[illegible]

\* The word is accidentally thus repeated by the scribe.

+ The word is blotted, but I think this is correct. The other barely possible reading is مُحَمَّدٌ. In the order for the first Saturday for Lent, where identical or parallel expressions with several passages here occur, the word is يَنَامُ "sleep," a synonym of the word I read in the above text.

















منها: **معدن**: **إختر** **كس** + **معدس** **للكس** **إصا**: **خصا** **مخوسا** **معدسا**  
**مخكس** **خكس** **اصم** **اعص** +

[illegible]

(TRANSLATION.)

## [THE NARRATIVE OF MOSES THE APPROVED IN PROPHECY.]

Once again, in the strength of the Being, the servant full of sin begins to write this Narrative of Moses the Elect in Prophecy.

When Moses went up to the mount of Sinai to speak with God, and received the Old Covenant—and in it are the commandments to the children of Israel, and the laws and judgments, that they should keep them—and the fasting of the prophet Moses was in the month of Hезiran [i. e., June], in the hot days of summer, until the law descended and he received it. Now Moses began to ask of his Lord. O my Lord and my God, teach me what I ask of thee.

And God said to him, What dost thou request? And Moses answered and said to him, O my Lord, He who satisfies the hungry, what wilt thou give as his reward? And God said to him, He who satisfies the hungry for my sake, I will satisfy him with my Holy Spirit, and he who clothes the naked for my name's sake, I will clothe him with a robe of the light of my divinity, and I will deliver him in the last day, and into judgment he shall not come. And Moses said, O my Lord, He who does not feed the poor that knocks\* at his door, what wilt thou give him as his reward? God said to him, I will drive him from the door of Paradise, and will not suffer him to see my light.

And Moses answered and said, O my Lord, he who gives water to drink on the waysides, what is his reward? God said to him, I will give him to drink the water of life, that he thirst not forever, and I will rescue him from the flame of fire.

And Moses answered and said, He that breaks the heart of the poor, what wilt thou requite him? And God said to him, According as he broke the heart of the poor, [so] he broke my heart, and I will cast him into the fire of Gehenna. And Moses said, He that has compassion on the poor, giving them food and drink, and clothing them, and doing the desire of their heart, and doing good by them, what wilt thou do by them?† And God said to him, He that does good with them

\* As the MS. is, we must read "kisses"; but the emendation requires only the transposition of a letter.

† Sic, but probably a slip for "him."

does it with me. I will make him inherit the kingdom of heaven, and I will delight him with life eternal, which shall not pass away nor be dissolved.

And Moses said, He that gives a shroud to a brother believer in the day of his death, what wilt thou do by him? And God said to him, I will clothe him with a robe of the light of my divinity, and I will pardon him [his] sins. And Moses answered and said, He that digs the grave of a departed brother believer, what is his reward? God said to him, I will write his name in the book of life with the prophets and apostles and martyrs and saints, and I will make him inherit the kingdom of heaven. According as he honored the body of my believer,\* I will honor him in the last day. And Moses said, My Lord and my God, He that walks with the bier of the dead, and bears the dead, in the way, when they are bringing him to the grave, what wilt thou give him as his reward? God said to him, I will write for him [for] every walk one recompense, and I will forgive him his debts.

And Moses answered and said to him, He that prays in the night, when men sleep, what is his reward? God† said to him, I will make him that he sleep not the sleep‡ of sin, even as I sleep not; and I will make him a watcher [i. e., angel] forever, and I will raise him to life [or, save him] in the day of the resurrection. And Moses said, He that prays at the risings of the morning and of the sun, what wilt thou give him as his reward? And God said to him, I will forgive him his sins, and I will write his name with the martyrs and confessors, and will write for him for every word one recompense. And Moses said, He that prays at the third hour, what wilt thou recompense him? And God said to him, I will enrich his possessions; the blessings of Abraham shall be in his house. And Moses said, He that prays the prayer of the sixth hour, what is his reward? God said to him, The door of Paradise shall be opened before him. And Moses answered and said to his Maker, He that prays the prayer of the ninth hour, what is his reward? And God said to him, Nine heavenly blessings shall be in his house, and I will multiply him his possessions, and will delight him in this world and in that which is to come. And Moses answered and said, He that prays the prayer of the setting of the sun, what is his reward? And God said to him, I will release [his] debts and the debts of his father, and I will make his portion and his inheritance in the kingdom of heaven; and I will not deliver him up to darkness, but I will make him to rejoice and exult in the light of my divinity. And Moses said, He that prays the prayer of [the time of] sleep, what is his reward? God said to him, I will hear his prayer, and will make pass from him the evil of the

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\* Or, "my body the believer."

† The scribe has accidentally repeated this word. Or else render: "God said unto him, I God will make," etc.

‡ The word is blotted and obscured, but I think this reading is right. The only other (barely) possible one is "death." The passage seems suggested by the order of service for the first Saturday of Lent, where the reading is (a different word for) "sleep."

night. Hear, O\* Moses, what I say to thee. He that prays or fasts or watches or labors for my sake, I will recompense him with his reward in the two worlds, and I will make him inherit life eternal, and he shall be glad in the light of my countenance, and I will give him delight in my kingdom.

And Moses said, He that lends anything to another, what wilt thou give him? God said, I will recompense him a hundred-fold; and every one that does evil to his fellow does it to me; and I will requite him from my good things, and I will deliver him from distress and from snares. Every one that does evil by his fellow, I also will torment him and bring upon him all manner of evils and chastisements. O thou Moses, according as ye shall be in love one with another, so also I will be among you; and if ye show kindness one to another, I also will show kindness to you. But if ye be angry one with another, I also will be angry with you. And every one that does evil with [his fellow, upon him]† I will bring every evil and every chastisement.

And Moses said, He that commits uncleanness with boys, what wilt thou give [him] as his reward? God said, Let his conduct and his power be with...‡ And Moses said, He that commits uncleanness with beasts? And God said to him, O Moses, if he be a man of full understanding, it is fitting that he fast a year, and pray and repent; and then let him enter the church and receive the oblation, and I will pardon his sins. But if he be a boy without understanding, let them fast for him three months. And Moses said, He that commits uncleanness, and repenting is confirmed in his repentance? God said to him, If so, Moses, I will both forgive his sins and write his name with the penitent. And Moses said, He that commits uncleanness and dies without repentance, what wilt thou requite him? God said, I will put on his neck a collar of fire, and he shall be tortured with demons in Gehenna, until he become the ridicule of all men to the day of the resurrection. But, O thou Moses, dost thou not understand that for the cause of uncleanness I was angry at Sodom and Gomorra, and I burned them with fire; and for the cause of uncleanness of§ the youth I also overthrew Nineveh?

And Moses said, He who smites upon his head because of the dead? God said, As one that took a spear and pierced me, so is he. And Moses said, He that rears the fatherless, because of the recompense? God said, I will write for him for that soul every day a thousand mercies. And Moses said, He that gives food with respect of persons? God said, He has no recompense with me. And he said, He that gives food as a tribute to the name of the departed, although he

\* The pointing may mean that this particle is to be taken as the Greek *cá*, "well."

† Evidently the scribe has omitted a word or two here; but the sense must be essentially that of the words which I have supplied.

‡ The scribe has omitted a word here. Perhaps "them," or "boys" is to be supplied.

§ The scribe has written "and" for "of"; a very easy mistake in Nestorian script.



may [thus] become poor, what wilt thou give him? God said, According as he made deprivation to himself, and gave food to the poor and the needy, a hundred-fold will I recompense him, and I will show mercy for that tribute.

And Moses said, He that steals or defrauds or robs what is another's?—If he repay him that which he has defrauded or robbed, and repent, I will forgive his debts. And if he repents but does not repay his debts, I will command my fiery angels to cast upon his neck chains of fire, and to bind him with the wicked in Gehenna; and to torment him without mercy. O Moses, mine is the power and the might and the valor. I do not require that there should be a collar on the neck of man, but upon the mountains and the islands, and on the neck of demons, who are enemies of men.

And Moses said, He that removes the landmark of his neighbor, little or much, what is his reward? God said, I will make a collar of fire and chains upon his neck, if he do not return it to its place.

Moses said, My Lord and my God, he that steals or kills? God said, As he had no mercy upon his fellow, I also will have no mercy upon him, nor shall it [i. e., mercy] be upon him forever.

And Moses said, He that reviles his father or his mother, or makes a mock of them, what wilt thou give him? God said to him, I will not hear his prayer, nor receive his petition, but I will cast him down to Gehenna, though he were Abraham the father of nations.

And Moses said, He who lends money [*lit.*, *zuz*, a drachma] to others, and does not take from them increase or usury, what wilt thou give him? God said, I will multiply his possessions, and will pardon his debts, and will write his name in the book of life with the martyrs and holy ones. But he that takes interest or usury, I will set thieves in authority over him, who will steal from him his possessions, and I will make him the fellow of Qâin, that he may be tormented in Gehenna.

Moses said, He that puts peace among men, what wilt thou recompense him? God said, He shall be my beloved and friend, and I will make him inherit the kingdom of heaven.—And he that puts strife and murder among men, what wilt thou give him? God said to him, He shall be far from me, and I will not suffer him to enter my kingdom. His dwelling shall be with the demons in Gehenna. Know also, O Moses, that he that oppresses his fellow oppresses me, and he that honors another honors me. O good Moses, command thy family, the children of Israel, that they be merciful towards the poor, and the widows, and the miserable. Let them not be oppressed.\* Lo, I will hear the voice of their crying, and their groaning will come near to me, and sicken my heart; and I cannot endure their oppressions. Speak also to them and teach them: If they turn not from their

\* Perhaps it is better to punctuate thus: "poor. And the widows and the miserable, let them not be oppressed."

wicked thoughts, and give alms to the fatherless, I will pour out my wrath upon them, and will destroy them from their small even to their great. With me there is neither master nor servant, nor respect of persons; but I will recompense to every man according to his works, whether good or whether evil.

After that God said to the Mount of Sinai, Be lifted up. And Mount Sinai was lifted up, and there was between heaven and the prophet Moses about a cubit. And Moses looked and saw all creation like a small brow. And God said, Ask, Moses, whatever thou desirest. And when Moses heard, he said also to God thus: O my Lord, art thou near or far, that I may come at thee? And when God heard that Moses said to him thus, he said to him, I am exalted above all, and I am lower than all; and there is nothing beneath me. In every spot am I, and in every place I dwell. And Moses said,\* O my Lord, what is thy clothing, and thy food? And God (glory to his Name!) said, My food is the tears of sinners that repent and turn to repentance, and my clothing is the praises of the angels and the repentance of men. And Moses said, How wast thou existent before thou createdst the heaven and the earth? And God said, I was existing with the reverend throne. And Moses said, What was that throne? and who were bearing it up? Where wast thou existent before the throne? And God said to him, The throne was light and fire and flame, and it was upon the shoulders of four angels, one in the likeness of the figure of a man, and one in the likeness of the figure of an eagle, one in the likeness of the figure of a lion, and one the figure of a bull. And above the throne was nothing, save Me alone, the Maker of the heaven and the earth. O thou Moses, this heaven in which are the stars and the sun and the moon, it is also a firmament in the likeness of glass, and above it there are waters. And there is another heaven scarlet, and above it a sea of fire; and the third heaven, that is my throne. Those angels that bear up the throne have each [*lit.*, he has] three hundred thousand mouths, and in every mouth three hundred thousand tongues, which utter praise in three hundred thousand variations, every one of them in its own voice [*lit.*, in one voice; i. e., language or cry not human], glorifying and extolling and singing praises and ascribing honor to my great Name; and there is no one tongue among them that is like another [*lit.*, there are not among them tongues that are like one another]. And amidst the four angels that bear up the throne, and between each and his fellow, are thirty thousand camps of cherubs and seraphs and angels and arch-angels, who are without number; a thousand thousands and a myriad of myriads, and more than the stars of heaven and the sand that is on the shore of the sea; and they glorify and sing praises and ascribe honor to my great and awful Name, without restraint and without ceasing. And, O thou Moses, according as I willed I created and brought into being from nothing everything that is

\* This word is accidentally repeated by the scribe.

† By an easy slip the scribe has written "and" for "of."

in the heaven, and whatsoever is of the earth, and all that is in the seas and on the mountains.

And Moses said, O my Lord, whither does thy face look? to the east, or to the west, or to the north, or to the south? God said, If thou desire to know, make a fire, and gaze into it, Moses, and see where is its face. And Moses answered and said [O] God, I gazed into the fire, and I saw that in all of its convolution [is] its face. And God said, Thus am I, O Moses, in every spot and in every place; and full of me are the heaven and the earth and the seas and the mountains; and I am in the height and in the depth, above all and beneath all; and there is no place that is void of me, but the place of infidels and oppressors, and the region where they know me not, and the place—in which is no faith—of them that worship images the work of men's hands.

And Moses said, O my Lord, dost thou sleep, or not? And God said, O my servant Moses, I sleep not forever and ever. Take in thy hand a cup of water. And Moses did so as God said to him. And God cast a sleep on Moses, and he was sunk in sleep, and the cup fell from his hand, and the water within it was spilt. And Moses was awaked from his sleep, ashamed; and God said to him, O Moses, by my mighty arm, if I should fall asleep, the heaven and that which is in the earth would fall, just as the cup from thy hand and the water was spilt.

And Moses said to him, O my Lord, I beseech that I may see thee with my eyes. God said to him, Thou art not able to see me, O Moses. But he answered and said to him, If I see thee, I will say to the children of Israel that I have seen God, and I will speak the truth with them. And God said, Arise, pray, O Moses. After that he arose and prayed and prostrated himself ten times; then he looked up and saw that the heaven was opened at the divine beck, [an opening] in the likeness of a needle's eye. And Moses fell upon his face, and darkened his eyes, for Moses was not able to look with them. And when he was awakened from his trance, then he said, Great is thy honor; no one is able to search therein save those who, pure in their heart, behold the rays of thy divinity.

And after that God said to the mount of Sinai, Descend.

And after those things, God said to him, O Moses, after a little cometh the hour that they [i. e., the children of Israel] shall see me, and I shall be in the likeness of one of them; and I will heal their wounded, and make whole their diseased, and raise their dead; but they will deny me, and crucify me upon the wood. O Moses, unless I descend to your father Adam, he [and] his descendants will remain in Gehenna. But I declared to him when I created him, [saying,] In the latter times I will deliver thee by one Man whom I shall clothe from thee [i. e., with thy humanity]. Prophesy it of me, and say that I will be thy descendant. And I said to him when I created him, Lift up thine eyes on high. And he lifted up his eyes; and I said, What seest thou? He said to me, I saw a tree [lit., wood] above my head. And I said to him again. Rightly thou speakest. And he said, O my Lord, what is this wood, which is above my head? It is like

me, in the figure of a cross. I said, O Adam, look up, look three times. And I said to him, What seest thou? He said to me, I saw One in the image and in the likeness of me, who is crucified on the wood; his hands and his feet fastened [*lit.*, they are fastening] with nails, and a crown of thorns is put on his head.

And I showed to thy father Adam alone that which I have said to thee. O Moses, heaven and earth shall pass away: one *yud* or one stroke [or mark, or letter] from my word shall not pass away. I said to thy father Adam, For thy sake, O Adam, I will send the Son my Word [or, my Son the Word]; it shall put on humanity and shall be man. They will crucify him, and through his cross he shall redeem you. And thou Moses, I make [it] known to thee, until your\* father Adam shall return to his garden and to Paradise from which he went out. He was driven out because he ate from the tree; and I expelled him from those good things. O thou Moses, then I declared to him, "I will redeem thee." And I will deliver him, him and his sons, from Gehenna. O Moses, when Adam trod under foot my commandment, and ate from the tree, and died the death of sin, and I drove him from the garden of delights, and he inherited the earth of curses, and went to Gehenna because he trod under foot my commandment, between me and him was this word, that I would descend and deliver him and his sons, and that I would not leave them in the hands of Satan and his torment. O thou Moses, this is the word between me and your\* father Adam: After five thousand five hundred years I will descend to deliver him, and will pay his debts and sins; and I shall receive mocking, and spitting upon my face, and they shall fix nails in my hands and feet, and put on my head a crown of thorns, and smite me with a spear, and kill me; and I shall die, and through my death I shall raise Adam and his children to life from the death of sin; and they shall bury me, and I shall rise from the grave after three days; and I shall ascend to heaven and take up with me Adam and his children, and make him inherit the kingdom of heaven. But the Jews, I will scatter them through creation, and take from them the priesthood and the kingdom and the prophecy, and give them to be stained black, so that they shall be as dogs hated of every one. Blessed are they that believe in me: woe to them that deny me.—And after that God said to Moses, Go down from the mount of Sinai. And Moses went down, and went to the children of Israel, and recounted to them how God had spoken to him. What he saw and what he heard he said to them.—Glory to God the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, even forever and ever. Amen and Amen.—Ends the Narrative of Mar Moses, by the hands of the weak and sinful priest Zerwanda, son of the brother of Mar Yohanan. Pray for my contemptibility. Amen.

\* MS. "our," through the omission of two letters. Perhaps that reading is meant, however.

CORRIGENDA.—Page 168, last line of Syriac, for ܡܫܝܚܐ read ܡܫܝܚܐ. Page 168, second foot-note, for for Lent read before, or at the beginning of, Lent. Page 168, line 4 from bottom, for ܡܫܝܚܐ read ܡܫܝܚܐ. Page 168, last line, for ܡܫܝܚܐ read ܡܫܝܚܐ.

## THE MOABITE STONE AND THE HEBREW RECORDS.

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According to the latest recensions of the text, the opening sentences of the Moabite stone, so far as they pertain to the present subject, are: "I am Mesha son of Chemosh-melek, king of Moab, the Dibonite. My father reigned over Moab thirty years and I reigned after my father. And I made this high place for Chemosh. . . . because he saved me from all the kings and let me feast my eyes on all that hated me. Omri was king of Israel and he afflicted Moab for many days, because Chemosh was angry with his land. And his son succeeded him; and he also said: 'I will afflict Moab.' In my days he said thus; but I feasted my eyes on the humiliation of him and his house; and as for Israel, it perished with everlasting destruction. Now Omri had taken possession of the land of Medeba; and [Israel] dwelt in it during his days and half his son's [or sons'] days, forty years: but Chemosh restored it in my days."

The Hebrew records, it will be remembered, assign to the four kings of the house of Omri a combined reign of forty-four years; place the revolt of Mesha after the death of Omri's son Ahab, during the reign of Ahaziah; and ascribe the war of attempted resubjugation to Jehoram, Omri's grandson and last king of the line.

Prof. Driver, the last who has expressed an opinion and who but gives utterance to a wide-spread thought, says: "The revolt of Moab from Israel, noticed briefly in II Kgs. i. 1 = 8,5. . . . is there stated to have taken place after the death of Ahab; but from line 8 of the inscription it is evident that this date is too late, and that in fact it must have been completed by the middle of Ahab's reign:" and again, "Mesha's revolt took place in the middle of Ahab's reign, not after his death (as stated, II Kgs. i. 1)," (Notes on Text of Samuel).

Thus the stone of Moab and the Hebrew records are found contradictory. We presume, however, that the Oxford professor and all sharers of his view freely concede that a war (if not the war) for the re-conquest of Moab was conducted by Jehoram, as the Hebrew scriptures state; and hold that a correct history of the times should narrate the Moabite revolt about the middle of Ahab's reign, and a war of attempted re-conquest at the beginning of Jehoram's.

The first inquiry concerns the date of the stone. 1. It is a memorial stele; not commemorative merely of Moab's recovery of independence from Israel, but retrospective of the reign of Mesha. It records the capture of numerous Israel-



ish cities by Mesha, it is true : but it also recounts the war against Dedan which resulted in the recovery of Horonaim by Moab ; describes Mesha's works of peace, the repair of the ruins of war, the fortification of his capital, the erection therein of a royal palace and of reservoirs, and the construction of a highway by the river Arnon ; and the stone is dedicated by him to the god who had saved him, not from Omri's son merely, but from all the kings, and had let him feast his eyes on all that hated him. 2. Whatever may have been the date of the revolt from Israel, the monument was certainly not erected until after the death of Ahab ; for Mesha knows how long Ahab reigned, saying : "Omri took the land of Medeba and [Israel] dwelt therein during his days and half the days of his son." 3. The stone was erected after disaster had befallen the sons of Ahab also, perhaps even after the extinction of his family, which shortly followed his own death ; for Mesha says of Ahab : "I have feasted my eyes on him and on his house," i. e., have seen the utter humiliation of both. By the humbling of Ahab's family may be meant only the frustration of Jehoram's attempt at re-conquest ; but the reference would be even more appropriate to the work of Jehu, whereby the house of Omri was overthrown and all its members murdered. 4. There is perhaps confirmation for a time during the reign of Jehu. Mesha says : "And as for Israel, it perished with everlasting destruction." These may be words of oriental exaggeration : but there was a time, however, when they would have been fitly spoken ; for when, immediately after the fall of Omri's house, Moab saw Samaria subjected to the Assyrian yoke, and when a few years later Hazael ravaged Israel and wrested from Jehu the region east of the Jordan, Israel seemed to have indeed "perished with everlasting destruction." To judge, therefore, from Mesha's own words, the stele was erected late in his reign after the death of Ahab, after the humiliation of that house also ; and, not improbably, after the extinction of the line of Omri by Jehu and the entrance of Israel into its period of dire distress.

The second inquiry concerns the actual statements and authenticity of the Hebrew records. What do the Hebrews testify ? They say nothing about a Moabite revolt in the days of Ahab ; but they connect one with the death of Ahab, relate its outbreak in the course of the narrative of the next, i. e., Ahaziah's reign, record the war of attempted suppression in the days of his successor Jehoram, and seem to imply that tribute had been rendered down to the date of Ahab's fall. And this account may not be lightly set aside. For 1. The Hebrew date suits the circumstances connected with Ahab's death. Historically the time was eminently fitting for a revolt. During the reign of Ahab, intermarriages between the royal families of Israel and Judah, by terminating hostilities for a time, caused these kingdoms to again present a united front to their common enemy Moab. At the battle of Ramoth-gilead, however, not only was the powerful monarch at the head of the northern realm slain, whereby the reins of



government fell into the hands of the weak Ahaziah, but the united armies of both northern and southern kingdoms were defeated. The time was opportune for Moab to revolt. 2. Again a general revolt at that time is abundantly manifest from Hebrew history. A month or so after Jehoshaphat had returned to Jerusalem from the disastrous battle at Ramoth-gilead, his kingdom was threatened with invasion by the allied armies of Moab, Ammon and Edom. That danger having been warded off, Jehoshaphat was soon after summoned by his kinsman Jehoram to assist the Israelites to re-subjugate Moab. 3. The Hebrew record further dates the attempted re-conquest of Moab after the death of Ahab by the mention of persons. The war is conducted by Jehoram, who shortly followed Ahab on the throne; and the prophet Elisha, who succeeded Elijah after the death of Ahab, is mentioned as present. 4. The credibility of the Hebrew record for this period is abundantly and minutely confirmed by monumental evidence. The Assyrian measurement of the interval from Ahab to Jehu is apparently the same as the Hebrew. The Assyrian tablets and the Hebrew records alike make Ahab of Israel and Ben-hadad of Damascus contemporaries and allies, place the death of Ben-hadad in the same position relatively to concomitant events, define it to within three years of its occurrence, name Hazael of Damascus as successor of Ben-hadad, mention Hazael and Jehu as contemporaries and refer to each in the same year relatively to the death of Ben-hadad.

Such complete consistency among all the statements of the Hebrew record for this period, such minute agreement with the details of the Assyrian annals, lend to the Hebrew declarations an authority not lightly to be rejected. Were then choice between the credibility of the Hebrew and the Moabite stories necessary, preference might justly be claimed for the former on the ground that it is derived from annals of the kingdom presumably contemporary with the events, whereas Mesha had his stone inscribed a considerable time after the revolt; that the general authenticity of the Hebrew narrative is abundantly confirmed, while the credibility of Mesha is unknown; and especially on the ground that the Hebrew record deals with domestic affairs, while the Moabite king's note of time is a reference to the internal history of a realm foreign to Moab.

But we do not think that a choice between the Hebrew recital and Mesha's account is necessary. We are glad to believe in the historical accuracy of both. The statements of the two documents may be reconciled in one of two ways:

They may be combined much in the manner already suggested; the recovery of Medeba by the Moabites being assigned to the middle of Ahab's reign, and the general revolt of Moab, allied with Ammon and Seir, to the period after the death of Ahab. The course of events would then be as follows: Omri, before his accession, while commander of the armies of Israel, crushed the power of the Moabites and opened their country to the Israelites for settlement. Despite the vicissitudes which befell the northern kingdom, the Israelitish inhabitants of this

remote district, occupying as they did fortified towns, easily retained possession of the conquered domain and raised the imposed tribute. At length when Omri's successor Ahab was entangled in war with the Syrians, Mesha found himself sufficiently strong to oust the Israelites from the extreme eastern and isolated town of Medeba; but, like many a subject prince of mediæval history, while he did not hesitate, when the occasion offered, to dispossess his liege lord of a goodly castle, nevertheless remained a vassal. Other cities lost by his father, Mesha did not undertake to recover until the catastrophe at Ramoth-gilead made revolt possible. Looking back over many years and recounting the exploits of his long reign, Mesha, in no wise contradicting but only unintentionally supplementing the Hebrew account, truthfully says: "Omri had taken possession of Medeba, and Israel dwelt therein during his days and half his son's days, forty years; but Chemosh restored it in my days."

There is another and preferable explanation. It rests upon a well-grounded assumption and on two facts. The assumption is that the inscription of Mesha was engraved not simply as late as the reign of Jehoram, which is proven, but after the destruction of Omri's house by Jehu, which as already seen is more than consistent with the narrative, being probable. The facts are first that the name "son of Omri" was not restricted to Ahab, but was a common designation for any descendant of Omri on the throne of Israel. To name thus Omri's lineal successors was in accordance with that well-known custom of the times whereby members of a royal line were denominated sons of the founder thereof. Several examples from the Assyrian records are cited by Schrader (*KAT.* 190 Anm.\*\*). So this stone mentions the occupant of Horonaim, not by his personal, but by his family name "son of Dedan" (l. 31). So too the stone, while it knows that name of terror Omri the conqueror, knows his royal successor only by the indefinite designation of "his son." So too another contemporary monument of stone gives to Jehu, who was not even of the lineage of Omri but only a successor, the title "son of Omri." "Son of Omri" was thus the common designation for any king of Omri's line. The second fact is that the three letters בנה can be a plural form, meaning "his sons." The Moabitish plural absolute is uniformly written defectively. Likewise plural nouns in union with a pronominal suffix generally show no ך. In line 8, the line in question, the words "his days" are represented by the three letters ימה. In line 20, where occurs the sentence, "I took of Moab 200 men, even all its chiefs," the words "its chiefs" are expressed by three letters רשה. In line 22, the pronominal suffix is appended to the feminine plural מגרלת naturally without an intervening ך. In but one case is ך used. Thus while the letters בנה may be a noun in the singular number, as in l. 6, they can with equal propriety represent the plural "his sons."

The course of the history was this: Omri, the commander of Israel's armies during the two years of the reign of Elah (I Kgs. XVI. 16), conquered and crushed

Moab and opened the territory to Israelitish settlement. The same or the following year he became king; and, though his authority was for a while disputed by a rival, the Moabites had no power left to rise against the Israelitish occupants of the walled towns. Apace with Moab's recovery of strength, grew the authority and power of Omri and Ahab. Their house moreover formed alliance by matrimony with the royal family of Judah. Not until the united forces of Judah and Israel were defeated at Ramoth-gilead and Ahab himself slain, were the Moabites spirited enough and courageous enough, with the help of the Ammonites and Edomites, to strike for freedom. They tried and succeeded. The revolt divided the reign of Omri's sons in twain, and gave to the latter half of their dominion a far different aspect in Moabitish eyes from the former. Looking back over many years, recounting events previous to as well as during his own reign, and being acquainted with the fateful history of Omri's dynasty, Mesha records: "Omri was king over Israel and afflicted Moab many days. . . . And his son succeeded him and he also said: 'I will afflict Moab.' He said thus in my days; but I feasted my eyes on him and on his house; and as for Israel, it perished with everlasting destruction." And then, after thus mentioning the fall of the first of the sons and of that son's house, knowing the lineal descendants of Omri simply as "his sons," Mesha resumes: "Now Omri had taken possession of Medeba and Israel dwelt therein during his days and half the days of his sons, forty years; but Chemosh restored it in my days."

# ASSYRIAN ETYMOLOGIES.<sup>1</sup>

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I.) Tup-šikku = a badge of servitude.

Lyon (*Sargon-texte*, 36, l. 56) and Peiser (*KB*. II. 48 fol.) read al-lu um-šik-ku u-ša-aš-ši, translated by the one *I let them carry the allu and um-šikku*, by the other *I caused them to bring allu and tribute*.

Esarhaddon (I R. 47, Col. V. 1 sqq.) says niše mâtâtî hu-bu-ut kaš-ti-ia IQ al-lu um-šik-ku u-ša-aš-ši-šu-nu-ti (*KB*. II. 134), translated by Abel: *Ich legte Frohndienste auf*.

Asurbanipal, Col. X. 89 sqq., relates, according to *KB*. II. 234: šarrâni (mâtu) A-ri-bi ša ina a-di-ia iḫ-ṭu-u ša ina kabal tam-ḫa-ri bal-ṭu-us-su-nu u-ḡab-bi-tu ina kâtê, a-na e-peš bit-ri-du-u-ti šu-a-tu (iḡu) al-lu tup(b)-šik-ku u-ša-aš-ši-šu-nu-ti u-ša-az-bi-la ku-dur-ri la-bi-in libnâti-šu za-bi-lu tup-šik-ki-šu, etc.; rendered by Jensen: *Die Könige von Arabien, die sich gegen die mir [geleisteten] Eide vergangen hatten, die ich im Sturme der Schlacht lebendig mit den Händen gepackt hatte, liess ich, um jenes Frauenhaus zu bauen, Bürdejoch und Arbeitermütze tragen und das Traggeflecht schleppen. Seine Ziegel streichend, seine Bürde schleppend (brachten sie unter Gesang und Spiel ihre Tage hin).*<sup>2</sup>

The (iḡ) allu is a chain, or a yoke, from alalu, to bind.<sup>3</sup> Every one has

<sup>1</sup> Presented to the American Oriental Society at its meeting, October, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> Also see Winckler, *Sargon* 32, 189, il-ku muš-šik-ku emidsunuti translated *Qid.*, *Steuern und Frohndienste legte ich ihnen auf*; cf. *Qid.* 44, 270; 112, 83. *ZA*. III. 314, 89, etc. The word mu-šik-ki, Winckler, *Sargon*, p. 90, 8; 146, 6, etc., is another word than the one under discussion.

<sup>3</sup> So Del. *ALS.* (vocabulary); Zb. 5, rem. 1; according to *HEBRAICA*, I. 230, alalu means to hang; so also Guyard, *Notes*, §§ 83, rem. 1, and 66; *ZK*. II. 21. *Asurb.* II. 10 mentions allu ḫuraḡi a gold chain; another word for chain is nallutu, also from alalu; see e. g. V R. 15, 48 d, where it follows ma-a[k-ḡar] and ḡan-nu and precedes ḡan-nu and ḡu-u ḡp, <sup>9=2</sup>قوة). ḡannu is to be connected with Hebr. יָנַן to build a nest, to rest, to crouch. Del. *ALS.*, p. 80, Col. II. 1 and 3, we read ḡin-nu ḡa-an-[na-nu] and ḡu-un-nu-[nu]; kalbu ḡun-nu is a chained dog, or a dog crouching down; *Deluge* 109 we read ilani kima kalbe ḡun-nu-nu, ina ka-ma-a-ti rab-ḡu; also V R. 45, Col. VII. 41, tu-ḡa-an-na-an. See, however, Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 428 and 517.—II R. 51, 32 cd, we read A-dar(?) ša al-li (*ZA*. II. 211 sq.). See, also, Jensen, *Kosm.* 392, and Del. *Wörterbuch*, ad 77N. Connected with allu no doubt is allu happu, a Semitic word, notwithstanding Schell's clever remarks in *BOR.* IV. 44 sqq. and Sayce's dictum in *ZK*. II. 207, who derives even allu from the Akkadian. From the same alalu we have ul-lu in ul-li kal-bi a dog-collar, *Asurb.* VIII. 28 and IX. 108, connected by Jensen (*ZK*. I. 299 and II. 21) and Professor Haupt (*HEBRAICA*, I. 230) with Hebr. חָנַן, Arabic عَنَل.

seen pictures of prisoners and slaves, brought before the Assyrian kings. As a rule they wear a rope or a chain around their neck; and this I call the *allu*.

It cannot but be confusing to the mind of the "layman" that in the same volume, *KB. II.*, Peiser, Winckler, Abel, etc., read *um-šikku*, while Jensen transcribes *tup-šikku*, the former deriving the word from an Assyrian stem, the latter from an Akkadian original; at least on p. 292 of *KB. II.* he says: *tup-šikku* = *kudurru* = "*Ziegelbrett*," which was carried or worn on the head; a compound of *tuppu*, *board*, and *šig* (*šeg*), *brick*; see also Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 494.

The three characters, which make up the word, have been read *muššikku*, *umšikku* and *tupšikku*.

1. Praetorius in *ZDMG.* 27, 514, line 8 sqq., reads *muššikku* deriving it from *našaku* = Hebr. נָשָׂא, to *anoint* (as king); his development of the word was *anointment*, *kingdom*, *crown* = *kudurru*. Schrader (*ibid.* 28, 128), criticizing this interpretation, translates "*sovereignty*," comparing Hebr. מָסָרָה Isa. xxii. 8 and מִסְכָּה *ibid.* xxv. 7, from נָסַר to *cover*, to *protect*, protection implying on the part of the king sovereignty. Delitzsch in Baer-Del. *Daniel*, præf. xi-xii, adopts reading and etymology from נָסַר, but considers it an article for wearing on the head, to cover it. Also Winckler, *Sargon-texte*, reads *muššikku*, translating it by *Frohnden*.

2. The reading *um-šik-ku* has been advocated, among others, by Lyon, *Sargon-texte*, p. 59, 5, and it has become the generally accepted reading.

3. Jensen proposed the reading *tup-šikku*, considering it a compound of the two "Akkadian" words *tup-dub*, *board*, *tablet*, and *šig* (*šeg*) = *brick*. In the majority of cases, as far as I have been able to examine them, we have the sign *tup* (with four upright wedges); this undoubtedly favors the reading *tup* (*dub*). In addition to this we read in a hymn, published in *ZA.* iv. 110 sqq. on p. 133, 100 and 112, *ba-bi-il tu-ub-ši-kam* (translated, *ibid.*, *bringing a blessing*), which means *bringing or carrying the tupšikku*.

I, thus, agree with Jensen in reading *tup-šikku*; with Jensen I believe that it is a compound consisting of *tup* + *šikku*; but I differ with him as regards the etymology of the word. It is not from the Akkadian, but of good Semitic parentage belonging to the same class, as *sêp-arik*, *arah-šamna* and others.

For *tuppu*, *tablet*, *badge*, see *So.* 38 = *IV R.* 69, 38 *tu-up-pu*, etc.; it is—in all probability—derived from a verb תָּפַח, to *beat*, to *press*, thus indicating that the tablets were pressed or beaten into their shape and form.

As regards *šikku*\* derived by Jensen from an Akkadian *šig* (*šeg*) = *brick*, I should say, that, if the Assyrians had adopted it from the Akkadian, they would,

\*The reading *šikku* with *š* is confirmed by (*tup*) *ši-ik-ka* *IV R.* 55, 23, and the passage from *ZA.* iv., referred to above.

no doubt, have also adopted for its use, the sign for brick, libittu; cf. Ht. 35, 841; but tup-šikku is never, as far as I know, written with the sign for brick (šig, šeg).

To explain šikku, we must turn to V. R. 32, 67 d-f; where the word occurs as an apparent synonym of ku-du-ru.<sup>5</sup> Here we read as a gloss to the non-Semitic G-I-EL,<sup>6</sup> du-uš-su.<sup>7</sup> I consider this a Semitic word equal to du-uš-šu a Pī'el form. from dāšu (Hebr. דָּאָשׁ) like uḫḫuzu *set*; ummulu; duḫḫuku, kuḏdušu, etc.

We have in Hebrew a verb שָׁכַךְ = Arabic سَكَّ = *to bow down*. Hiph'il, *to bend down, to overthrow a rebellion* (e. g., Num. xvii. 20), thus equivalent to דָּבַשׁ, *to tread down, to crush*. With this stem שָׁכַךְ I connect šikku and explain it as a form like biblu *desire*, libbu *heart*, šiddu *flank*, šikku *snake*, etc. It would thus mean *overthrow, defeat, servitude*.

Tup-šikku, then, is a compound like mūr-nišku and many others (Dg. §73) and its meaning is *tablet or badge* (indicative) of servitude, either in its literal sense or metaphorically. This meaning, etymologically established, suits all the passages examined; the (ig) allu as well as the kuduru is a tupšikku, *badge of servitude*, showing that their wearers were slaves and prisoners.<sup>8</sup>

Ht. 36, 880, we read si-ik<sup>9</sup> = enšu *weak*. Dg. §25 explains this value as an abbreviation of siqu, *hemmed in, oppressed* = סִיק<sup>10</sup>; but in view of the fact that in Assyrian the pronunciation of š and s became gradually identical, I would rather derive sik (= šik) from šikku (= šikku).

II R. 22, 25 cd, we read šak-ku ša še'im = allu happu; BOR. iv. 47 reads šak-ku and says = שָׁכַךְ = סָכַךְ = שָׁקַךְ; šakku stands for šakiku = *crushing the corn* = allu-happu.

<sup>5</sup> On kuduru see now Jastrow, *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, October, 1888, p. xov. foll.

<sup>6</sup> For G A-TU = EL see e. g. Ht. 23, 451 sqq.; II R. 23, 43 c.

<sup>7</sup> Similar glosses abound. A few may be referred to. Ht. 73, 13a, we have (ig) zi-er-ku in the Akkadian column, borrowed from the Assyrian zirku, a *sprinkler*, זִרְקוּ, a fact recognized by the genial Lenormant as early as 1876! (see GGA., 1877, p. 1430-1); again Ht. 73, 1, zu-mu-ug-ga-NI from the Assyrian sanaku, שָׁנַךְ, Hebr. שָׁנָה; cf. BAS. i. 284, rem. 2; Dg. §25. Ht. 81, 25 kar-ra-du-um-BI = *his hero*; ZK. i. 99, §5, and Zb. 5, rem. 1. According to Professor Haupt this text (Ht. No. 10) seems to have been foolishly translated from the Assyrian into Akkadian.

<sup>8</sup> See also IV R. 55, 16, where we read tup-šikku bitatī ilanī rabātī emedušunntī. We usually find no connecting particle u between allu and tupšikku, although all translators have inserted an "and" as if it were found so in the original texts. (ig) allu tupšikku means *the chain, the badge of servitude*, the latter standing in apposition to allu.

<sup>9</sup> SIG (sik) = enešu also occurs V R. 62, 55a; cf. II R. 43, 19 gh; 23, 67 = en-šu; V 62, 57a = en-šu-us-su (= enšutšu).

<sup>10</sup> With siku, שִׁי, usiq *he oppressed*, I connect zi-ga the Ideogr. for tebū *enemy, adversary, oppressor*; also the value ik (gal) Del. Schrifttafel, 53, is of Semitic origin. In II R. 23, 62 cf. we read daltu = iḫku, a *wing of a folding door*; from this is derived the Ideogr. (ig) ik = daltu and not (ig) gal as read usually; iḫku, of course, stands for aḫi'-u, as nimru for namiru, etc., and is derived from eḫū *to wind, to turn*.



## "SONHOOD," OR ADOPTION AMONG THE EARLY BABYLONIANS.

BY THEO. G. PINCHES,

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Among the host of dry sales of land and similar transactions, which form the subject-matter of most of the trade-documents of older Babylonia, are a few tablets of great interest to the student of ancient law in that part of the romantic East. To these records of a long-vanished state of society, a few Assyriologists are now turning their attention; one of the most interesting papers upon the subject being Dr. Meissner's "*Die Serie ana ittišu in ihrem Verhältniss zum altbabylonischen Recht*," based partly on new acquisitions by the British Museum, and partly on the old "B." tablets (published by the Rev. J. N. Strassmaier, S. J., in the *Transactions of the Berlin Congress* in 1881), and the grammatical tablets of the Kouyunjik collection.

The more one studies the record of Babylonian private life, the more one becomes convinced, that whatever the disposition of the Assyrians may have been, the Babylonians must have been a very kind-hearted people. This kind-heartedness shows itself in many ways, but more especially, probably, in their custom of adopting children. The existence of tablets referring to this custom in later times,<sup>1</sup> shows that the nation did not change in this respect.

The text which I now examine has already been referred to by Dr. Meissner in the above-named article. He, however, seems not to have regarded it as a contract of adoption, but as a document illustrating the standpoint of the parents towards the children. This it does indicate indirectly—but really it is a tablet of "sonhood" (*âplûtu*). In justice, however, to my friend Dr. Meissner, I must say, that the fault of this view of the text does not lie with him, for he has done his best with the material at his command, and has excellently translated and compared the extract he has given.

The text in question is numbered B. 42 (Strassmaier 102), and is nearly complete, a few lines only at the beginning and end being broken away, and a few others damaged. The envelope, however, supplies some of the characters wanting on the tablet, and also gives some interesting variants. The language of the text is Akkadian, with a few Assyrian words and phrases here and there.

In translating a new inscription, the first thing to do is to find the "key-word,"

<sup>1</sup> See the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. VIII., p. 275, 3d paragraph; and *HEBRAICA*, Vol. III., pp. 12-21.

so to say. The key-word, in this case, is in the second line, and is composed of the characters nam-ibila-ni-šu (or -ku), translated, in *WAL.* II. 9, 64, and 33, 7, by ana âplûti-šu, *to his sonhood*,—that is, *as his adopted son*. The word which follows, on our Babylonian tablet, is ingar-\*, *he made, or placed* (he placed as his adopted son). The general sense of these broken lines was probably to the effect that Êtel-pî-Sin had adopted Bêl-êzzu as his son. The succeeding lines read as follows:

TABLET (*U. 3 sqq.*).

Ganâ, kirâ, marša, [NIG-GA  
bîti-šu-ma(?)]  
ana ig-\*. \*  
ša Etel-pî-[Sin]  
ihhuzu<sup>2</sup>  
Ê[t]el-pî-Sin  
hamšet âplē iraššû  
Bêl-êzzu  
IBILA-GI-KIME NIBAËN

The field, plantation, marša, the furniture of his house also(?)  
for . . .  
which Etel-pî-Sin  
possesses—  
Êtel-pî-Sin  
has 5 sons—  
(to) Bêl-êzzu,  
like a son, he will give.

ENVELOPE (*U. 2 sqq.*).

[Ganâ], kirâ, marša, NIG-GA  
bîti-šu-ma(?)  
[ša] Êtel-pî-Sin  
[û] Sin-naid<sup>3</sup> âššati-šu  
ihhuzû<sup>4</sup>  
Etel-pî-Sin û Sin-naid  
hamšet âplē eraššû<sup>5</sup>  
Bêl-êzzu DU-NE-NE  
IBILA-GI-KIME NAM NI-  
BAËN

The field, plantation, marša, the furniture of his house also(?)  
which Êtel-pî-Sin  
and Sin-naid, his wife,  
possess—  
Êtel-pî-Sin and Sin-naid  
have 5 sons—  
(to) Bêl-êzzu, their son,  
like a son, they will give a share.

From the above it will be seen, that notwithstanding that Êtel-pî-Sin had already five sons, he had no objection to adopting another, to whom, "like a son" [IBILA-GI-KIME, *son + one + like*], he gives a share (for such I take to be the meaning of NAM here) of his property. This interesting section is followed by a portion which, as Dr. Meissner says, is an exact parallel of the tablet of "Family-laws" (*WAL.* v. 25, 23-28):

<sup>2</sup> On the original ni-du-a.

<sup>3</sup> As is shown by the seal-impression of Nidnat-Sin, da and id are written alike in this text; hence this reading (cf. Meissner).

<sup>4</sup> On the original ni-du-a-meš.

<sup>5</sup> Note this interesting variant form.

## TABLET OF "FAMILY-LAWS."

TUKUNDI-BI DU AD-DA-  
NA-RA

AD-DA-MU NU-ME-A

BA-AN-NA-AN-GU

[UMBIN MI-NI-IN-ŠA-A

GAR-RA-AŠ MI-NI-IN-DU-

E] [ŠUM<sup>6</sup>

Ū AZAG-GA-AŠ MI-NI-IN-

"If a son to his father

'Thou art not my father'

say,

[he shall set a mark upon him,

place him in fetters],

and sell him for silver."

## B. 42, ll. 11 sqq.

7TUKUNDI-BI Bêl-êz-zu

Ê-te-el-pî-Sin-RA AD-DA-

NA

Ū Sin-na-id AMA-NI

AD-DA-MU NU-ME<sup>8</sup> AMA-

MU NU-ME<sup>8</sup>

BA-AN-NA-GU [MU-UŠ

AZAGA-ŠU BA-AB-ŠUM-

"If Bêl-êzzu

to Êtel-pî-Sin, his father

and Sin-naid, his mother

'Thou art not my father—thou art  
not my mother'

say,

they shall sell him for silver."

Notwithstanding the additional phrases on the tablet of "Family-laws," the penalty may be regarded as identical in both cases, for although it was not necessary to "set a mark on him," yet in order conveniently to sell the faithless foster-son as a slave, it would possibly be needful to put him in fetters, or, at least, to tie him up in some way, so as to prevent his escape.

The penalty for ingratitude on the part of the adopted son having been stated, the text of the tablet proceeds to deal with the foster-parents, should they, in their turn, deny their adopted son :

## TABLET, ll. 17 sqq.

Ū TUKUNDI-BI

Ê-te-el-pî-Sin

Ū Sin-na-id DAM-A-NI

Bêl-êzzu DU-NI-RA

DU-MU NU-ME DIB-AN-  
NA-DU-NE

GANNA, GIŠ-ŠAR Ū MAR-ŠA

GA-LA-NI ŠU-BA-AB-TE-  
GA

BA-AN—TUM-MU.

MU LUGALA-BI IN-PA.

"And if

Êtel-pî-Sin

and Sin-naid, his wife,

to Bêl-êzzu, their son,

cry out, 'Thou art not my son,'

field, plantation, and marša,

his property,<sup>9</sup> he may take,

(and) may separate it.

He (Êtel-pî-Sin) has invoked the  
spirit of the king."

<sup>6</sup> See Haupt's *Sumerische Familiengesetze*.

<sup>7</sup> On the case U-KUR-ŠU, "in future," precedes TUKUNDIBI.

<sup>8</sup> The envelope has NU-ME-EN in both cases, implying that the final consonant was nasal.

<sup>9</sup> Meissner translates GALA by *Mübesitz*.

This apparently means that Bêl-êzzu, the adopted son of Êtel-pî-Sin and his wife Sin-naid, might claim and take the share of Êtel-pî-Sin's property promised to him, should Êtel-pî-Sin at any time renounce his adopted son.

Whatever the faults of the translation here given may be, the picture presented is, as far as it goes, complete, and the story hangs together consistently. We get rid, moreover, of a difficulty which must have presented itself to some minds when reading a translation of the above-named "Family Laws;" namely, how any power on earth could be supposed to dissolve the relationship between parents and their offspring, for *no son, in the sense of the word, can deny his father, any more than a father can deny his son.* They may pronounce the words of renunciation as much as they like, but their relationship remains just as it was notwithstanding. Though a father "cut off his son with a shilling," or with nothing at all, his son is still his son, and nothing can change it. Not so in a case of adoption where the law gives power of renunciation—this relationship, made by a legal form, may also be annulled by a legal form. Babylonian law was therefore in this respect more consistent than has been supposed.

Of course the result of the prevalence of this custom of adoption in Babylonia must have been to multiply lawsuits. In illustration of this the tablet B. 57, in which Ilu-banî, in order to get the property to which he claimed to be entitled, makes solemn declaration to the effect that he was really the adopted son of Sin-magir, may be quoted as a case in point.

Girls were also adopted "to daughterhood"—or, rather (as the Babylonians were obliged to use the abstract from mârû), "to childship" (mârûtu). The only tablet known to me referring to this (B. 26) is unfortunately rather defaced. It seems to relate, however, to the adoption of a girl by a man named Tilligunu(?), but the text requires much study before a satisfactory rendering can be made.

# THE SEPTUAGINT TEXT OF HOSEA COMPARED WITH THE MASSORETIC TEXT.\*

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## PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

In sympathy with all earnest effort to obtain a better text of the Old Testament, I was led, at the suggestion of my esteemed friend and teacher, Professor W. R. Harper, to take up the study of the Septuagint version of Hosea. Good use has been made of the Targum by Wünsche,† and Seböki‡ has investigated the variations of the Peshitta. But the most important of the versions for textual criticism, the Septuagint, has received little attention, having been investigated only in a general way by the commentators as well as by Vollers in *Das Dodekapropheten der Alexandriner*.

It is not my purpose to repeat the history of the version, the legend of its origin, etc., since this work has already been done by those who have wider experience. The purpose is simply to compare the Septuagint with the Massoretic text and note the conclusions that may be drawn from such comparison.

The great question, however, in the study of the LXX. to-day is whether the variations, which it presents, are due to arbitrariness of translation or to difference of recension. Thus it is my object to consider whether there are variations in the translation which would not be allowed a translator, and if so, whether these are due to arbitrariness on the part of the translator or to difference of recension.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the differences between the texts, it seems best to present a brief outline of the manner in which the investigation is conducted. Having studied the text verse by verse it was my intention to present the results in somewhat the same form as is followed in the works of Lagarde, Wellhausen, Ryssel, etc., but this, it seems, fails to present to the mind any clear idea of the variations as a class. Therefore, after a brief statement in regard to the condition of the text of the LXX., the variations are considered under three general divisions which I have named *Interpretation*, *Doubtful* and *Recensional*. Under *Interpretation* those variations which may, in any fair way, be attributed to

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\* Part of a thesis presented to the Faculty of the Department of Philosophy and the Arts, Yale University, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, by Gaylard H. Patterson.

† *Der Prophet Hosea übersetzt und erklärt mit Benutzung der Targumim und der jüdischen Ausleger*, Raschi, Aben Ezra und David Kimchi. Leipzig, 1868.

‡ *Die Syrische Uebersetzung der zwölf kleinen Propheten und ihr Verhältniss zu dem massoretischen Text und zu den älteren Uebersetzungen* u. s. w. Breslau, 1887.

the translation through free translation, different punctuation, confusion of letters, etc., are considered. Under *Doubtful* cases, those variations which are of such a nature that one cannot determine whether they are due to the translator or to a difference of MSS., are considered, and under *Recensional* those cases which can only be accounted for on the supposition that the translation is based on a MS. or MSS. differing somewhat from those underlying the Massoretic text. In these divisions the material is classified as in Workman's *Text of Jeremiah*. He adopts the old terminology "in an accommodated sense." With the Massoretic text as the basis, the variations of the second and third divisions are considered under additions and omissions of letters, words, phrases, etc., "alterations of mood, tense, gender, person, number and case." Substitutions of parts of speech, syntactical forms, etc. Thus the first consideration is as to the integrity of the text of the LXX. Then those variations, which may be attributed to the translator, are considered and thus one is familiarized with the general character of the translation in such a way that he may proceed to the consideration of the doubtful and recensional cases with an additional criterion by which to estimate the value of the variations in these cases.\*

The Hebrew text used in the discussion is the edition by Baer and Delitzsch; the fac-simile of the Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus edited by H. L. Strack was also consulted. Tischendorf's sixth edition of the Septuagint is used and fac-similes of the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS. have been consulted.†

#### CONDITION OF THE GREEK TEXT.

With corruption in both the Hebrew and the Greek, results become very uncertain; so, while the examination of the text of the LXX. involves a special investigation of itself, a few cases of interest may be noticed here.

In 7:2 there is manifest corruption, for the reading *ὅπως συνάδουσιν ὡς ᾄδοντες*—is neither Greek nor Hebrew, nor is the variant *ὅπως συνάδουσιν ὡς συνάδοντες*, better. Ewald suggests that the text may have been *ὡς συνάδοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν*.‡ This might then be a free translation, or perhaps they misread *יִמְרוּ* for *יֵאָמְרוּ*. To suppose with Ewald that they read *כְּמוֹ יְאֹתוּ בְלִבָּב* is to increase the difficulty.

In 10:6 the reading *καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀσσυρίους δέξαντες, ἀπήνεγκαν ξένια τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἰαρείμ ἐν δόματι Ἐφραΐμ δέξεται*, must be corrupt; *ξένια* and *ἐν δόματι* seem to be a double translation for the same word, though the latter may be for the Hebrew *בִּשְׁנָה* (?).

In 13:3 the *δακρύων* of the LXX. is probably a confusion of letters from *ἀκρίδων*

\* Since the above divisions were made the excellent and recent work of Canon Driver has come to the writer's hands and he is pleased to find in it a very clear statement of the proper method of investigation. Cf. *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*. Oxford, 1890, p. xi.

† It is gratifying to know that an excellent edition of the Greek text is now being prepared for the Syndics of the University Press, Cambridge, by H. B. Swete, D. D.

‡ *Prophets of the Old Testament*. Vol. I., p. 273. London and Edinburgh, 1875.





1. There may be noted cases in which a word is given a meaning belonging to it, but not the proper force according to the context, as in the case of

1. Nouns, when there is used,

a. A Common Noun for a Proper Noun. *βουνός* for *נבעה* in 5:8; 9:9 and 10:9, influenced perhaps by 4:13 and 10:8, where the common noun occurs. The first part of the words *ביתאון* and *ביתאל*, 4:15; 5:8; 12:5, etc.,\* is always translated by *οίκος*. Other examples are *σκοπιά* = *מצפה*, 5:1; *ψηλλός* = *רמה*, 5:8.

b. A Proper for a Common Noun. *Ἰαρείμ* = *ירב* 5:13 and 10:8. Compare, however, A.V. and R.V. In this case the article would be expected with *מלך*. *ב* and *ם* to the mouth of an Oriental are nearly related. Cf. Ps. 16:1. For *Μάχμας* cf. p. 195.

2. Verbs; in some cases

a. A fair meaning is given. *ἀπορρίπτω* = *דמה*, 10:7,15; *ἐπακούω* = *ענה*, 2:23,24; cf. A. V., while in 5:5 and 7:10 *ענה* = *ταπεινώ* (*עنى*), etc.

b. Not in accordance with the context, as in 14:9; 2:17, where the same word is similarly translated. *δμοιῶς* = *דמה*, 4:5,6; *παρασιωπάω* = *חרש*, 10:11, 13, etc.

3. Tense. A few cases will suffice to show that the translation cannot be relied upon in expressing accurately the force of a particular tense. In 1:2 *ἐκπορεύεσθαι ἐκπορεύεσθαι* for *זנה תזנה* is a simple translation of the idiom, but fails to convey the idea in its proper force. In 2:1 *ἦ* is used for *והיה* while the same is used for *יהיה* 8:6, and in 11:4 *καὶ ἔσομαι*, while *אמשכם* is translated by *ἐξέτεινα αὐτοὺς*, etc. Even upon superficial examination one discovers the inaccuracy of the translation in this particular. But when it is remembered that interpreters still disagree as to the force of the "Perfect" and "Imperfect" in particular cases, one is not surprised to find that the "present perfect," the "frequentative imperfect," etc., are not properly rendered. Such nice shades of expression cannot be expected in the translation. On the contrary it is just the slavishness of the translation that makes it possible to reconstruct the Hebrew text from it. No one would attempt it from a modern translation.

4. Government. There are cases in which the government or construction of a phrase or sentence is not exact as when

a. A verb is read transitively with an object when it should be intransitive, as *καὶ αἱματα ἐφ' αἱμασι μίσγουσιν* for *ורמים בדמים ננעו*: 4:2; *ἐμέρισαν καρδίας αὐτῶν* for *חלק לבם* 10:2; *ἀπέστρεψε τὴν ὁργὴν μου* for *שב אפי* 14:5, etc. Compare also 13:15b, where, however, they may have pointed the verbs differently,

b. Which may also be the case in certain active verbs which are read passively, as in 12:11 *ἀρῶμα* = *ωμουλώθη*; 5:7 *ἔλῃ* = *ἐγεννήθησαν*(?), etc.

\* When etc. occurs, a few unimportant cases are not cited since the cases under this division are cited simply to set forth the general character of the translation; otherwise the treatment is exhaustive.

c. The subject and object of the verb are also sometimes confused. In 4:11 this affects the entire verse.

II. As indicated, some of the above variations may have arisen from a different pointing. To this cause many variations may be attributed and in some cases the LXX. reading is to be preferred. Sometimes the change is

1. A Noun for a Verbal Form.

**דָּבַר** for **דָּבַר** 1:2, also for **דָּבַר** 18:1. The Massoretic text gives a fair construction in Hebrew, and being the more difficult is to be preferred; it also gives a very good sense. The Peshitta and Targum, however, have the noun. **אֲשׁוּר** = **אֲשׁוּר** 13:7. So also the Peshitta **ܐܫܘܪ** and Vulgate, "in via Assyri-  
orum," and Hitzig.\* **רָעָה** (adj.) = **רָעָה** 12:2 and **יִקְרִי** = **יִקְרָאֵהוּ** 11:7 wrongly, as also **וַיִּכְחַךְ** for **וַיִּכְחַכֵּי** 6:9, and though in 4:19 **צָרָה** for **צָרָה** is adopted by Drake,† the sense and context are better sustained by the Massoretic text.

2. Verbal Form for Noun.

**פָּרָא** = **פָּרָא** 8:9, but this is contrary to the 8th verse. **שָׁכְבִים** = **שָׁכְבִים** 8:6, wrongly, as also **לִפְתָּח** for **לִפְתָּח** 2:17. In 12:6 **יְהִיָּה** for **יְהוָה** occurs the more easily, as **יְהוָה** occurs in the preceding.

3. Verbal Form for Verbal Form.

In 3:1 **רַע** = **אֲהַבְתָּ רַע**. Drake assumes this without doubt to be the true reading. Hermann‡ also adopts it, explaining the arrangement, however, as chiasmic. The ordinary reading is adopted by all the later commentators, but it seems that a slight variation from the LXX. and Massoretic text, reading **אֲהַבְתָּ רַע** after J. D. Michaelis,§ gives a better parallelism as well as uniformity in the use of the participles. The first two, thus, refer to the evil habits of the woman in relation to her *paramour* and the consequent adultery, while the next couplet refers to Israel's relation to "other gods" and the consequent idolatrous practice, indicated in the expression "love cakes of grapes." Thus it is the waywardness of the woman not the decoymet of idols that is censured.

In 7:5 **הַחֲלוּ** for **הַחֲלוּ**, not badly. Several other cases, however, are not so good, as: **הַשְׁכַּתִּי** = **הַשְׁכַּתִּי** 2:18; **שֵׁת קָצִיר** = **שֵׁת קָצִיר** 6:11; **יִרְדְּפוּ** = **יִרְדְּפוּ** 8:3; **יִתְנוּ** = **יִתְנוּ** 8:10; **רַטְשָׁה** = **רַטְשָׁה** 10:14; **יִרְחֹם** = **יִרְחֹם** 14:4; **הַשְׁכַּתִּים** = **הַשְׁכַּתִּים** 11:11; **יִלְדוּ** = **יִלְדוּ** 5:7.

4. A Noun for a Noun.

**מִשְׁכַּת** = **מִשְׁכַּת** 14:5; cf. 11:7, but wrongly as also **אֵן** = **אֵן** 12:4, perhaps a free translation here. **אֲחִיכֶם** = **אֲחִיכֶם** 2:3; (?) **אֲחֻתִּיכֶם** = **אֲחֻתִּיכֶם** 2:3; (?) **צִלָּה** = **צִלָּה** 4:13; **צֹאֲנִים** = **צֹאֲנִים** 5:6; **בָּקָרִים** = **בָּקָרִים** 5:6; **עֹלָתָהּ** = **עֹלָתָהּ** 10:13.

\* Die zwölf kleinen Propheten. Leipzig, 2d edition, 1852, p. 56.

† Notes on Jonah and Hosea. Cambridge, 1853, p. 98.

‡ Studien und Kritiken, 1870, p. 515.

§ Deutsche Uebersetzung des Alten Testaments. Vol. XI. Goettingen, 1782, pp. 4 and 21.

5. Other Cases. עַם for עַם 12:1; מִים = מִים 11:10; (?) אֵין = אֵין 12:12. These and other cases are noted under other heads. Cf. VIII., pp. 201 sq.

III. There is also a number of variations arising from a different arrangement and construction of the text, consisting in

1. The different grouping of words, affecting

a. A change in a verse, as 4:5 לַיְלָה וְרַמִּיתִּי אִמִּי = νυκτὶ ὁμολῶσα τὴν μητέρα σου. Vulgate, "Nocte tacere feci matrem tuam." The connective וְ probably did not occur in the MSS. from which these translations were made. The parallelism and contrast between day and night favor the Massoretic text. In 9:6 the LXX., ἐκ ταλαιπωρίας Ἀιγύπτου, καὶ ἐκδέχεται αὐτοὺς Μέμφις, καὶ θάψει αὐτοὺς Μαχμὰς κ.τ.λ., misses the sense perhaps because of the general expression preceding מַצְרַיִם and the subject standing first; while the incorrect reading of מחמר also conduced to this. Jerome\* thought they confused וְ and ׀. Μαχμὰς is elsewhere the translation of מַכְמִישׁ and so associating this with Egypt they have misread here.

In 9:4, וְלֹא יַעֲרֹבוּ לוֹ זְבַחֵיהֶם בְּלֶחֶם אוֹנִים לָהֶם = LXX., καὶ οὐχ ἡδύνασεν αὐτῶ αἱ θυσίαι αὐτῶν ὥς ἄνθρωπος πένθους, κ.τ.λ. Variant. ἡδύναντο κ.τ.λ. Peshitta, וְלֹא יִתְקַבְּלוּ לְרַעְוָא קוֹרְבָּנֵיהוֹן. Targum, וְלֹא יִתְקַבְּלוּ לְרַעְוָא קוֹרְבָּנֵיהוֹן. The one reading of the LXX. as well as the Peshitta and Targum take זְבַחֵיהֶם as the subject of the verb, giving the better construction. The variant of the LXX. has in its favor also the fact that ἡδύνασεν when used actively takes the accusative. Cheyne suggests that the Massoretic division "was possibly caused by a wish to preclude a misinterpretation of Hosea's language, viz., that the Israelites would go on sacrificing to Jehovah even when in captivity."† Other cases may be found in 9:11; 11:8; 12:1,2,3; 13:2 and 14:8; they need no comments.

b. A change in more than one verse, as in 4:14,15: אִם-וְנָה אָתָּה = LXX.—συνεπλέκετο μετὰ πόρνῃς. Σν. Here the LXX. seem to have tried to bring the last of the verse into consonance with the phrase עִם הַזֹּנוֹת יַפְרֹדוּ, and thus translate freely, reading עַם for אִם a very easy confusion. Sebök, however, suggests that the LXX. which he thinks the Peshitta followed, deluded by the sound of the letters, translated יִקְלָת, but this does not seem well supported by his references. At any rate a glance at the text shows it to be incorrectly construed.

In 9:8,9 for מִשְׁטֶמָּה בְּבֵית אֱלֹהֵי: הָעַמִּיקוּ שְׁחָתוּ כִּימֵי וְגו' the LXX. has μανίαν ἐν δίκῃ θεοῦ κατέπηξαν, ἐφθάρησαν κ.τ.λ. The two verbs coming together in the Hebrew were separated by the translator and the first was given to the preceding clause. The Massoretic text, however, gives a possible construction and being the more difficult is to be preferred. Other cases may be found in 4:11,12; 5:15 and 6:1, also 6:10,11.

2. The different grouping of letters, as in 4:4, where: וְעַמִּי כְּמִרְיָ כָהֵן =

\* *Patrologia Latina*, Ed. J. P. Migne, Paris, 1845. Vol. XXV., p. 894.

† *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. Hosea.* Cambridge, 1887, p. 94.

LXX. ὁ δὲ λαὸς μου ὡς ἀντιλεγόμενος ἱερεὺς. The LXX. reading suits the context better in placing כ so as to read עמי, cf. v. 6. The כ in the Massoretic text is probably from the first of the following word, and so this case might have been considered under *Recensional* variations, but being connected with an otherwise free translation it seemed best to consider both under *Interpretation*. The translation of the latter part may be thought to invalidate that of the first part, but the final Yôdh of כמרי was probably obscured in the MS., and thus this would be a fair translation following closely the order of the words, since in Greek the regular order would be the reverse. Thus the LXX. becomes a safeguard against such conjectures as that of Wellhausen\* unless such corruption took place before the translation was made. One conjecture by Robertson Smith,† viz., כמרי בי, is antedated by a conjecture cited by Rosenmüller,‡ viz., “Quos conjecturae juvant, miror, in eam pariter non incidisse, qua legeretur כמרי בי cum affixo primae pers. singul. sicut contendens adversus me sacerdos, ita ut sensus exoriretur periodi; tum populus tuus tum sacerdos mihi contradicunt et adversantur. ‘Si genuina floret lectio in Alexandrina versione, videri haec posset isti conjecturae ex parte favori.’”§

In 6:5 for וּמִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ אִזְרִי יְצֵא the LXX. has καὶ τὸ κρίμα μου ὡς φῶς ἐξελεύσεται; the Peshitta, سبلا أمو ليهون لعف; the Targum, וְיִרְיִנִי כְנָהוֹר נִפְק. These versions surely give the better reading here, not involving a change of person nor the necessity of supplying, as the Massoretic text does. As is evident, this simply requires the כ to be joined to the following word; it is favored by Cheyne and others.

Other cases are the following: For רבו תורתִי, 8:12, the translation in the LXX. is πλεθος, καὶ τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ. = רב ותורתו. In 7:11 for מַצְרִים קְרָא the LXX. has Αἰγυπτῶν ἐπεκαλεῖτο, καὶ εἰς Ἀσσυρίους κ.τ.λ. = מַצְרִים קרא ואשור וגו'. In 11:2 for מַפְנִיחֵם the LXX. is ἐκ προσώπου μου αὐτοί. מִצָּאֵן = נִמְצָאֵן, 6:2,3. Cf. also p. 200 for 7:1.

IV. The character of the languages being so different, allowance must be made for certain variations due to the genius of each language; as in the case of

1. Asyndeton, which occurs much more frequently in Hebrew than in Greek. Cf. 1:1; 3:1, etc.

2. Verbal Apposition, when the second verb is often translated by an infinitive. Cf. 1:8; 5:11, etc.

3. Abstract Plurals, which are usually well translated by the singular, as in 1:2, אִשָּׁת וְנָאִים = γυναῖκα πορνείας. Cf. also 2:4,6; 5:4, etc.

4. Collectives, which are often translated by the plural, as in 2:20, where the

\* *History of Israel*. Edinburgh, 1885, p. 188.

† *The Prophets of Israel*. New York, 1882, p. 406.

‡ *Scholia in Velus Testamentum*. Leipzig, 1812. VII., 1, p. 124.

§ *Dissertationes Auriwülfi*. Goettingae et Lipsiae, 1790, p. 606.



Hebrew חַיִּית הַשָּׂרָה = μετὰ τῶν θηρίων τοῦ ἀγροῦ. So also the other collectives of the verse and elsewhere. Some cases are more doubtful, as ἀμαρτίας for חַטֹּאת 4:8; εὐφρανεν βασιλεῖς = יִשְׁמְחוּ-מֶלֶךְ 7:8.

5. Infinitives, as in 4:2, where the infinitives are translated by nouns, representing the sense fairly. However, the translator may have vocalized the words as nouns; the stronger expression is given in the received text.

6. Peculiarities.

a. In the translation of רַחֲמָה 1:6, etc., it cannot be determined whether the translator read מִרְחַמָּה a participle, or a perfect רַחֲמָה, since he would probably translate in the same way in either case. Thus the translation seldom gives any light on such forms.

b. In a western language the expression "their souls" is preferable to "their soul," but such an expression is quite common in Hebrew. In 4:8 for the Hebrew נַפְשׁוֹ the LXX. has τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, reading נַפְשָׁם perhaps, as do many Hebrew MSS., or they may have referred the singular suffix to the community and thus translated in the plural; in either case the effect upon the noun is the same, requiring the plural. Cf. also 9:11, כְּבוֹדָם = αἱ δόξαι αὐτῶν; 13:8, לָכֶם = καρδίαι αὐτῶν, etc.

c. In the Greek a part of speech frequently carries its force farther than in the Hebrew, and so where it would be repeated in Hebrew the one answers in Greek. Such is the case in 5:6, where בָּצִיאֵם וּבִכְקֶרֶם = μετὰ προβάτων καὶ μὀσχων. Note also the translation of מִדֹּשֵׁן אֶפְרַיִם מִמֹּת אֲנָאִים, 13:14, viz., ἐκ χειρὸς ἄδου βέσσομαι καὶ ἐκ θανάτου λυτρώσομαι αὐτούς. Variant αὐτούς for καὶ.

d. Frequently the term אֲשׁוּר is translated as referring to the inhabitants, as in 7:11, etc.

e. Other Cases. In 2:23 אֶעֱנֶה אֶת-הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהֵם = ἐπακούσονται τῷ ὑψίστῳ, καὶ αὐτοί. In 5:1 שְׁמַעוּ-זֵאת = Ἀκούσατε ταῦτα.

V. Some minor variations may also be explained as free translations and may easily be detected. Such are the following:

1. Those which may be said to give the sense of what is expressed figuratively in Hebrew, as in 2:7, where for צִמְרִי וּפִשְׁתִּי the LXX. τὰ ἑμάτιά μου καὶ τὰ ὀσθονιά μου, gives the article for the material of which it is made and this is not far from the Hebrew. Cf. Lev. 13:47, where בְּנֶדֶךְ occurs with these words; cf. also 2:11. The translation of the last word of the verse, שְׁקִי, by πάντα ὅσα μοι καθήκει represents the idea of the Hebrew in a general expression. In 2:17 כְּרַמֶּיךָ = τὰ κτήματα αὐτῆς, "which," as Simson observes, "is perhaps not to be emended to κλήματα with Drusius, but explains itself from the peculiarity of the LXX., in the use of synecdoche, preferring to place the genus for the species."\*

2. In many places יֵם seems to have been taken in a general sense and is translated by the plural. Cf. 4:6; 5:9; 7:5; 10:14, etc.

\* *Der Prophet Hosea.* Hamburg und Gotha, 1851, p. 101.



3. There are also some cases in which the translator seems to have given a peculiar meaning to a form by reference to the root from which the word is derived, as in 2:17, where for **לִפְתַּח תִּקְנָה** the LXX. has *διανοίξαι σύνεσεν αὐτῆς*, pointing the first as an infinitive, which, with the ordinary meaning of **תִּקְנָה**, does not make good sense; but the translation is not so remote as to require the conjecture that they read **תִּקְנָה** (Drusius). The words in their first meanings are not so far apart as they seem to be, **קָנָה** meaning "to bind" and *σύνεσεν* (*συνήναι*) "a joining together," so that though **תִּקְנָה** is not translated elsewhere by this word, it seems probable that it is the form which was before the translator. The vocalization, however, may have been **תִּקְנָה** as Sebök suggests. The LXX. take this verse as one of warning and so the translation of this phrase is more in accordance with the context as thus understood. In 5:12 **עֵשׂ** is translated by *παράχῃ* and the root from which **עֵשׂ** is derived is frequently translated by *παράσσω*, so that, though the exact meaning is not given here, the translator's intention is shown to be right.

4. There are other cases in which the meaning given a word or form is inexact, as in 1:6, where *ἀντιτασσόμενος ἀντιτάξουαι* for **נִשָּׂא אִשָּׁה** does not seem so strange when one thinks of the different interpretations that have been given this clause by the commentators. Wünsche and Nowack say this translation demands the *Hithpāl*, but it is to be remembered that the translator must not be held responsible for modern knowledge of grammar; moreover such translation nowhere occurs for the *Hithpāl*. It is also to be noted that the same words occur in 1 Kgs. 11:34 for **נִשָּׂא אִשָּׁתוֹ**, from which Schleusner conjectured that the translator read the same here. However, the emphatic infinitive construction points to the form here as the basis, and if the translations are in any way related then it seems probable that the translator of Kings read **נִשָּׂא אִשָּׁתוֹ** which only involves the change of a **ת** to an **א**; not a difficult change with the old Hebrew characters. Though the translation itself cannot be supported, it is interesting in that it shows an attempt to translate the form which occurs in the received text. Moreover the influence of **כִּי** preceded by a negative perhaps had some force in affecting the translation. In this case it may be compared with that of the A. V. In 2:15 the LXX. has *ἐν αἷς ἐπέθεν αὐτοῖς* for **אִשֶּׁר תִּקְטִיר לָהֶם**, referring **אִשֶּׁר**, with **בָּם** omitted, to **יָמֵי**, to which Hitzig refers it also, since otherwise the latter part of the verse requires some additional explanation. Nowack takes **אִשֶּׁר** as an accusative of time. There is no reason for supposing that the translator\* found **בָּם** in the MS.\* used. In 3:2 the translation of **אִכְרִיָּה** by *ἐπιμαρτυρία* is probably based on the same text. Cf. the Arabic **كِر** in the eighth form. However, the translator may have referred it to **שָׁכַר**.

\* The singular, *translator*, should not be taken as implying that the translation was made by one person, since this is not known, but it is used for sake of convenience. MS. is used in the same way.

In the difficult figurative language of 7:4sqq. the translator seems to have found some difficulty, but has given the words fairly, though missing the sense. כלם is translated by πάντες, either dropping ם on account of the same letter following, or probably it is used as expressing the meaning. (Cf. v. 7): κατακαύματος for ישבות seems to have been taken as referring to the fire and thus the sense is missed. In v. 5 λοιμός for לָצֵץ does not give the exact meaning of the word, but it is frequently used for לָץ. In v. 6 ἀνεκαίθησαν for קרבו does not require the conjectures that the reading was חרב (Cappelle), קרה (Buxtorf), etc. The sense seems to have been adapted to the figure. The translation of ארב by καραρῶσω is free also. Cf. the translation of ארב by καταρῶω in 1 Sam. 2:35.

In 12:7 the LXX. ἐγγεξε for קנה is probably a free translation. Though the phrase קרב אל to which the translation corresponds is one of frequent occurrence, Ezek. 40:46; 1 Sam. 14:36, etc., the other is also, as in Ps. 37:34; 27:14, and suits the following תמיד better.

In 5:8 several words are rendered freely, as may be seen by a reference to the text, but the idea is conveyed; such is the case also in 8:4, but the idea in המליכו and השירו is not so well expressed. Other cases of free translation are the following: יאספו = ἐκλείψουσιν, 4:3; יפרצו = κατεσθύνωσι, 4:10; אמיר = θήσομαι, 4:7; סרה סרה = παροιστρῶσα κ.τ.λ., 4:16; נכחד = ἀπέστη, 5:3; ביהוה בנרו = ὅτι τὸν κύριον ἐγκατέλιπον, 5:7; לחבה = φέγγος, 7:6; בו זרקה = ἐξήνθησαν αὐτῷ, 7:9; נאמנה = πιστή (? ἀμνη), 5:9; יקמנו = ἐξαναστήσομεθα (?), 6:2; רוח = ἀνεμόφορα, 8:7; קימוש = δλεθρος, 9:6; הפה = ἐπόνεσεν, 9:16; אמגנך = ὑπερασπιῶ (מגן ?), 11:8; תלאכות = ἀουκήτω, 13:5; שחל = πανθήρ, \* 13:7; etc.

VI. There are some variations which appear to be slight turns given to expressions for the sake of clearness or interpretation. They are cases which, if retranslated into Hebrew, would require,

1. An alteration or substitution, as in 4:3, where for the Hebrew וְאִמְלֵךְ בְּהָאֲרָצָה the LXX. is καὶ σμικρυνθήσεται σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν αὐτήν. The verb being taken as passive it was easiest to refer it to the land, and thus כל יושב בה is construed, as the following words, with ב. In 4:12 the force of ב in the first clause is either carried over to the second or the translator supposed the second should agree, reading וּבְמִקְלִי, but this does not suit here. In 9:8, 17 the suffixes are not translated, but in the connection the general term אלהים seems to have been preferred, though the translator probably found אלהי in the MS. If the Greek καὶ τάξω αὐτὴν ὡς ἐρημον, 2:16, is original this is a turn in expression, but see p. 192. Cf. also שְׁבַלְתֵּיהֶם = ἀτεκνωθήσονται, 9:12; שֶׁדֶּר לָהֶם = δειλαὶ εἰσιν, 7:13.

2. An addition, as in 2:10, where, for the Hebrew וְכִסָּה חֲרִבֵּיתִי לֵה וְהֵב עֵשׂוּ, the LXX. is καὶ ἀργύριον ἐπλήθυνε αὐτήν. αὐτὴ δὲ ἀργυρὰ καὶ χρυσὰ ἐποίησε, which seems to have been caused by the peculiarity of the arrangement of the Hebrew.

\* Modern interpreters also find difficulty in translating the Hebrew words for lion.

There is an attempt to convey the idea. But are the people represented as using silver which God had given and gold which he had not given?

In 8:3, if *ἐτέρω* was in the original it is a wrong interpretation, but some editions do not have it,\* and it is probably a correction.

In 4:2, misled by taking the infinitives as nouns, the translator makes these the subject of the verb *פָּרִצוּ* which is translated *κέχνται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, retaining the image of the breaking forth of water, as also the Vulgate in "inundaverunt," and this probably explains the addition; though it may be a copyist's error, being repeated from the preceding verse.

In 7:1 for the Hebrew *בַּחֲוִין נִדְּרָה פֶּשֶׁט נִדְּרָה* the LXX. has *καὶ κλέπτῃς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσελεύσεται, ἐκδιώσκων ληστῆς ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ*. The addition arose perhaps from carrying out *בוא* more fully than the verb alone does. (Cf. 9:4, where the preposition is added to convey the idea.) The variation in the last is suggested by the preceding, but the initial *י* of the following verse was no doubt read as a suffix to *בַּחֲוִין*.

In 5:11 the Hebrew *עָשׂוּן אֶפְרַיִם* seems to have been too general an expression for the translator, and the vowel letters not being in the MSS.† perhaps he took this form as well as the following *רָצוּן* as active and supplied the object for the first. Similarly *וַיִּשְׁלַח*, 5:18, is not expressed in Greek without an object as easily as in Hebrew, so *πρέσβεις* is supplied as an object in Greek.

Other cases may be seen in the following: *אֵלָה* = *δένδρον συσκιάζοντος*, 4:18; *לְבִיא* = *σκόμνοι ὄρμητοι*, 18:8; *רַעֲנָן* = *πυκάζουσα*, 14:9; *הַשֵּׁלֶם* = *ἀνταποδόσεώς σου* (?), 9:7; variant, *ἀνταπαδόσεως*; *אֶהְיֶה* = *ἀγαπήσεώς μου*, 11:4; etc.

VII. There are some cases in which the translator has missed the sense through a false construction or misunderstanding of a word, etc. There may be noted,

1. The misunderstanding of words and incorrect reading of suffixes often connected with such misunderstanding, as in 2:18, where *בַּעֲלִי* = *βααλείμ*. This probably arose out of a difficulty in the mind of the translator in not understanding how Yahweh could ever have been called *בַּעֲלִי*, or an unwillingness to admit it.

In 18:14 *דְּבָרֶיךָ* = *δίκη σου*, referring to the singular *דְּבָר* rather than to *דְּבָרִים*.

In 11:1 for the Hebrew *לְבָנֵי* the LXX. is *τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ*, referring by the suffix to Israel probably, but this would be *their fathers*. Cf. Mt. 2:15. Note also the suffixes of the first for the third person in 12:5.

In 7:16 *רָמְיָה* = *ἐντραμένον*, cf. Jer. 4:29; *כִּשְׁלָת* = *ἀσθενήσαι*, 4:5; *כִּשְׁלָת* = *ἡσθένησαν*, 14:2; *הוֹרִי* = *κατάκαρτος*, 14:7.

\* Field's *Hexapla*. Oxford, 1875. Vol. II., p. 944.

† The "plena scriptio" probably was not common in the MSS. which the translators used. Cf. *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, p. xxxii.

2. Wrong Constructions. Closely connected with the preceding is the misunderstanding of the word כִּמְרִין, 10:5, for which the LXX. reads καθὼς παρεπικράναν αὐτόν, deriving it from מֶרֶה with כ, but this construction requires כֹּאשֶׁר. The uncommon word seems to have caused difficulty.

In 2:19 for וְלֹא יִזְכְּרוּ עוֹד בְּשִׁמְם the LXX. is καὶ οὐ μὴ μνησθῶσιν οὐκ ἐτι τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, taking כ in construction with the verb and translating as in the Hyph'il. Cf. Josh. 23:7; Isa. 48:1. Perhaps they vocalized as Hyph'il, but יִזְכְּרוּ seems well sustained. Cf. Zech. 13:2.

In 6:5 for הִצַּבְתִּי בְּנֵי־אִים the LXX. has ἀπεθέρισα τοὺς προφῆτας ὑμῶν. No object being expressed for the verb the phrase was probably taken in the sense of "slaying in" or "among the prophets" and read בְּנֵי־אִים. The received text and interpretation are sustained by the parallelism.

In 11:6 for וַחֲלָה חֶרֶב בְּעַרְיוֹ וְכִלְתָּה בְּרִיו the LXX. has καὶ ἥσθενησεν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ. The first verb is derived from חָלָה and both it and חָלָה are taken intransitively, while בְּרִיו is made to correspond with בְּעַרְיוֹ in the first clause and so is read בְּרִיו. The translator seems to have been influenced by an attempt to bring out parallelism.

In 9:1 אֵל גִּיל is translated in the LXX. by μηδὲ εὐφραίνου; in the Vulgate, "noli exultare." The early translators probably overlooked the fact that אֵל is not thus used. They may have read אֵל תְּגִיל, but cf. Job 8:22, which favors the received text.

In 7:14 the LXX. makes לֶכֶם the subject of the verb in the translation καὶ οὐκ ἐβόησαν πρὸς μὲ αἱ καρδίαι αὐτῶν, for the Hebrew וְלֹא זָעַקוּ אֵלַי בְּלֶכֶם.

In 6:7 וְהָמָּה כֹּאדָם עֹבְרוֹ, the translation of which is αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰσιν ὡς ἄνθρωπος παραβαίνων. עֹבֵר is read עֹבֵר, qualifying כֹּאדָם. This is a weak statement, but perhaps not more so than one interpretation of 4:4, viz., "thy people are as they that strive with the priest," or the expression in 5:10.

In 6:8 אֵין (קְרִית פְּעִלִי) = πόλις ἐργαζομένη μάταια; בְּעַמִּים הוּא = ἐν τοῖς λαοῖς αὐτοῦ (annexion?), 7:8; וְלִפְקוֹד = τοῦ ἐκδικῆσαι, 12:3.

VIII. Again, there are some variations which seem to have arisen through the peculiar difficulty presented by the Hebrew or the MSS., or a strange misunderstanding of the text. In many cases a combination of these causes explains a reading. Since the reason for a variation of this nature is not very evident they need not be classified more definitely. The following are instances of such variation:

In 2:4 for the Hebrew וְהָסַר זִנְיָהּ מִפְּנֵיהָ (פֶּן אִפְשִׁיטָנָה), the LXX. reads καὶ ἐξαρθῶ τὴν πορνείαν αὐτῆς ἐκ προσώπου μου (ὅπως ἂν ἐκδύσω αὐτήν). Perhaps the first person is used as anticipative of the same in the following verse. Though the sense is missed, the translation does not involve any important change in the

text. **אסר** for **תסר**; and **מפני** for **מפניה**, the former being much more common would naturally be taken in case of obscurity. **פן** in v. 5 was perhaps read **כי** unless the Greek should read *ὅπως μή* (?). Cf. p. 192.

In 12:15 for the Hebrew **הכעים אפרים תמרורים** the LXX. has *ἐθίμωσεν Ἐφραίμ καὶ παρώργισεν*; variant, insert *ἐν* before Ἐφραίμ. Is this an attempt to render the phrase by the combination of two verbs or was one originally an adverb in force, but altered? The second verb of the Greek is the one most frequently used for **כעס**, but the other is also used. There must be an alteration or corruption here, perhaps a double rendering.

In 14:8 it is suggested that the LXX. *ζήσονται καὶ μεθυσθήσονται σίτω*, is a double translation of **יִחִי דָגֵן**, being read once **יִחִי**, once **יִרְ(וֹ)י**, to which *μεθυσθήσονται* corresponds, but this word with *σίτος* is unparalleled. This is probably to be traced to a tampering with the text of the LXX. Such "conflate readings" are probably rightly attributed to admixture from other versions. According to the following canon, "If two readings coexist, of which one expresses the Massoretic text, while the other can only be explained from a text deviating from it, the latter is to be regarded as the original,"\* *μεθυσθήσονται σίτω* should be regarded as the original reading. This then may be a free translation of **יִרְוֹ דָגֵן**, which would not be bad in this connection.

In 14:3 **כָּל-הַשָּׂא** = *ὅπως μή λάβηται*. In the unparalleled Hebrew the translator seems to have found difficulty, reading **כִּי לִיא** perhaps for **כל**. The difficulty of the expression baffles the modern interpreter also.

In 12:1 for the Hebrew **עַד רַר עַם אֵל וְעַם קְרוֹשִׁים נֶאֱמַן** the LXX. has *νῦν ἔγνω αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἄγνος κεκλησέται*, mistaking blame for praise, but such a sentiment in this connection is altogether out of place. A slight change of consonants and pointing would admit the Greek reading, viz., **עָתָה ? יָדַעַם אֵל, וְעַם קְרוֹשִׁים נֶאֱמַר**.

Other cases in which a slight change will admit a peculiar reading are the following: 6:9 altered to **הַחֲבִיאֵי וְנֹר** (**הַחֲבִיאֵי וְנֹר**) may explain the LXX. *καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς σου ἀνδρὸς πειρατοῦ ἐκρυσφάν κ.τ.λ.*; also 11:7, **וַיֹּאֵל עַל יִקְרִיּוֹ יֹחֵר**, for which the LXX. is *καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὰ τίμια αὐτοῦ θυμωθήσεται*. 12:12 again, **אִם-נִלְעָר אֵין... בְּנִלְעָר שְׂרִים** for the LXX. *εἰ μή Γαλαδὸς ἔστιν... ἐν Γαλαδὸς ἄρχοντες*. With 8:9, *δῶρα ἡγάπησαν* compare **אֶהְבֵּת אֶתְנִן**, 9:1. The translator has not used **תִּנְנָה** anywhere; at least no translation requires it. 18:1, **רַתַּת** = *δικαιώματα*, perhaps for **רַת** Aramaic(?). In 8:7 **בְּלִי** seems to have been omitted. *θυσιαστήρια τὰ ἡγαπημένα*, 8:12, repeated from 8:11 by copyist? In 2:8 **וְגִדְרַתִּי אֶת גִּרְרָה** = *καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὰς ὁδοὺς*, free?

\* Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel, p. xlvii.

† Not **וַיֹּאֵל** after Simson and Wunscho, as Nowack indicates.



IX. Another reason for variation in the translation is the confusion of consonants; these must often have been dim and obscure in ancient MSS. Moreover the similarity between some of the letters must have led to confusion. The MSS. used by the translator were probably written in the old Hebrew or "square" characters, and the letters may have been confused in the transmission of those MSS. before the translation was made. Hence it is difficult to determine, many times, whether the translator erred in reading these, or some copyist before him. It seems probable, however, that as good a MS. or MSS. as the average would be used in such a translation, and accordingly the following variations may fairly be considered as due to the translator.

In 1:4 for יהוא the LXX. has *Iovda*. Jerome believed this to have been due to the inexperience of the translator, using this word because it was the more common. Simson also points out the fact that "Judah" is thus brought into consonance with "house of Israel" at the end of the verse. יהודה might also be confused easily with יהוא, especially the apocopated form יהור. Thus in case of obscurity Judah would naturally be taken. But we, thinking of a definite fact, find that the context requires יהוא.

Instead of ליער (2:14) the LXX. has *εις μαρτύριον*, concerning which Jerome observed, "LXX. posuerunt testimonium, Reš et Daleth literarum falsi similitudine." This seems probable, since Yôdh (י) might easily be obliterated.

In 10:14 for בית ארנאל the LXX. has *ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ Ἱεροβοάμ*; variant, *Ἱεροβάδλ*. The latter reading is that of the Alex. and Sin. MSS.; it is also the one Jerome gives for the reading of the LXX. It would seem then that ארנאל was read ירנאל through confusion of א and י, perhaps also א and ע, while בית was translated. Possibly a confusion of Zalmuuna with שלמן may have led to the peculiar reading here, referring to Jerubaal, mentioned in the same passage, viz., Judg. 8. Jerome endeavored to explain the reading from this, but the reference is to a place, not to a person. The passage in the Hebrew awaits a satisfactory explanation.

In 4:12 כי רוח = *πνεύματι* of the LXX. The reading was probably כ for כי and this the more readily since התעה is without an object, unless the reading was התעם as in some MSS.,\* and is translated freely.

In 10:2; 5:15 and 14:1 אשם is translated by *ἀφάνιζω*. The translator probably read שם. Cf. 2:12 and 5:9, where the forms from שם are translated by derivatives of *ἀφάνιζω*. It is possible, however, that the translator may have connected these two roots in some such way as Schmoller, whose opinion was that from the idea of suffering punishment comes the idea of being desolated, waste.

\* Davidson's *Hebrew Text*. London. P. 123.



In 7:6 for אָפֶהם the LXX. has Ἐφραίμ, which is not easy to explain unless the reading of the MS. was אֶפְרַיִם and this was confused with the form אֶפְרַיִם in some way. Perhaps the left foot of ה was obliterated and then the remaining form and Yôdh were transposed, or ה may have been read for י, since these letters were sometimes confused in the old characters.\* Compare also מִים for מִדֵּם, 6:8.

In 11:4 the LXX. has ὡς πανίστων ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τὰς συναγόμενας αὐτοῦ for the Hebrew בְּמִרְיָי עַל כְּמִרְט עַל לְחִיָּהֶם, reading כְּמִרְט עַל and omitting one עַל: this is taken as a threat; cf. Isa. 50:6. The context shows it to be wrong. Ἀνθρώπος is used indefinitely, as several times.

In 8:6 ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ arose probably from confusing כִּי with כִּי and thus ׀ would seem a repetition or was obscured perhaps. כִּי and ׀, however, are very similar in the old "square" characters and may have been confused in the MSS.

Other examples of such confusion of letters may be seen in the following: אִם = עִם 4:14; לְעֶדְתָם = לְעֶדְתָם 7:12; חֶכֶם שֶׁפָּר = חֶכֶם שֶׁפָּר 8:1; יָרַעַם = יָרַעַם 9:2; יִרְעַם = יִרְעַם 9:2; יִשְׂרָאֵל = יִשְׂרָאֵל 10:11; לְפָרִי = לְפָרִי 10:12; שֶׁר = שֶׁר 10:14. Cf. also the more doubtful וַיֵּשֶׁם = וַיֵּשֶׁם 18:1; אִשְׁוֹרְנוּ = אִשְׁוֹרְנוּ 14:9; רָקַב = קָטַב 5:12 (cf. 18:14?).

X. Very peculiar are the variations in the translation of the particles. In many cases the variation may be affected by the context as in the case of כִּי which is frequently translated by ὅτι and διότι but after a negative by ἀλλά. But as an accurate knowledge of the use of particles seems to be one of the last attainments in the study of a language, the translator is not to be censured if he allow the context as he understands it to determine the force of a particle. This our translator seems to have done always, rather than to have used the particles at any time as an aid in discovering the meaning of a particular passage. The following groupings of the translations of prepositions, conjunctions, etc., will serve to show this:

כִּי אֲשֶׁר = καθὼς ἂν, 7:12; ὅν τρόπον, 9:13.

אַחֵר (אַחֲרַי) = ὀπίσω generally, but μετὰ τὰῦτα, 3:5.

אֵךְ = ἄρα, 12:12; πλὴν, 12:9; ὅπως, 4:4(?).

יָחַד = ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, 11:8; יָחַד = ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, 2:2.

לֹא = οὐ and οὐ μή frequently; ἤ, 6:8.

עַל כֵּן { ὁὖν τοῦτο, 4:3, etc. Cf. לְכֵן also, 2:8, 16, etc.  
ἐνεκα, 18:6.

\* Cf. Wellhausen's *Der Text der Bücher Samuels*. Göttingen, 1872. Pp. 18 and 169.

כ	δτι and διότι, general. ἀλλ' ἤ, 1:6; 7:14. διὰ τοῦτο, 8:10; 9:8. ὅταν, 4:14.	כ	ἐκ, general. ἀπό, 2:20; 5:8, etc. διὰ, 8:4. μετά, 6:2. μή, 2:11(?). εἰς, 7:4. ἡ, 2:9; 6:8.
	ἐν, general. ἐπὶ, 2:25; 3:5, etc. εἰς, 4:7; 5:5, etc. πρός, 2:4. κατά, 2:11. σύν, 4:3. μετά, 5:6. dative, 7:9.		ὡς, general. καθώς, 2:5; 3:1, etc. κατά, 2:17; 4:7, etc. οὕτως, 4:9.
ב	dative general. genitive, 1:9; 2:14, etc. εἰς, 2:14; 2:21, etc. πρός, 5:1. ἐπὶ, 2:20; 3:3. ἐν, 9:5.	כ	ἐπὶ, general. κατά, 7:13; 8:1. ἐν, 7:14. διὰ, 9:15.
	μετά, general. πρός, 4:1; 12:3, etc.		πρός, general. ἐπὶ, 3:3; 3:5, etc. εἰς, 7:15; 8:1, etc. ἐν, 4:8.
על		על	
אל		אל	

Perhaps a table of some of the Greek particles with their equivalents in Hebrew, according to the translation, may be of interest in showing the peculiarities in an even more striking way.

ὅπως	=	כִּי, 4:4	למען (8:8)	
ὅπως ἂν	=	כִּי, 2:5(?)	ὅπως μή = כל (כִּי לא ?), 14:3	
διότι καὶ ἔάν	=	כִּי (9:12)	גם כִּי (9:16)	
ἐν	=	ב*	על	בקרב (5:4; 11:9)
εἰς	=	ב	כמו (8:12)	אל
ἐπὶ	=	ב	על	אל
πρός	=	ב	עם	אל
κατά	=	ב	על	ב
μετά	=	ב	עם	מן
διὰ	=		על	מן
ἀπό	=	מן מתחת (4:12)	οὕτως = ב	כן
μή	=	אל לא	מן	
διὰ τοῦτο	=	לכן על כן	כִּי	גם כִּי (8:10)
πλήν	=	אך (12:9)	זולתי (13:4)	
ἔάν	=	אם (9:12)	אולי (8:7)	

\* The equivalent most frequently used is underscored; in most cases the references in the above table suffice.

Thus the majority of the variations which may be attributed to the translator have been considered, and the general character of the translation in cases in which the text underlying it was similar to the Massoretic text, has been noted. It has been seen that passages in which the Greek text is corrupt or doubtful, are of such a nature, usually, as to indicate that they should not be used in textual study. The cases of free translation are such as may readily be detected, either in the peculiar reading or difficulty of the passage, or in the approximate sense expressed. Most of these are of such a nature that, if held to indicate difference of recension, one could only substitute a word related in meaning to that in the text.

Interesting cases of the use of the same Greek word for different Hebrew words, such as ἀνταποδίδωμι for שָׁלַם in 9:8 and 14:8, for שָׁב in 4:9; 12:2,14; and different Greek words for the same Hebrew word, as חָבַל = διαφθορά, 11:4, and ὠδίνες, 13:13, which is used for בָּטָן, 9:11, show that the translator, not always influenced by a desire for uniformity, simply expressed what he regarded as the sense of a particular passage.

There are also slight traces of local influence in the translation as the probable reference to παβδομαντεία, a sort of divination among the Greeks, in 4:12; also a reference to the rites of Venus and other deities in the τετελεσμέναι of 4:14. In both cases, however, the translation is fair and may have no reference to customs of the Greeks. But after having attributed to the translation all that can fairly be considered as belonging to it, in accordance with the general disposition or tendency of the translator,—his evident fairness of intention,—there still remains a number of variations unexplained.

#### DOUBTFUL CASES.

There is a number of variations the character of which is doubtful. One cannot say positively that they are due to difference of recension, but they seem to be due to this. In some cases the readings are certainly not as good as those given in the Massoretic text, but at the same time they bear evidence of having been translated from Hebrew, while in other cases they are much better than the received reading.

I. Under this division additions may be considered first.

1. No great stress can be laid on the addition of a letter or particle, yet there are a few cases in which such an addition gives a different and often a good reading.

In 2:18 the connective καί occurs between all except the first two nouns. Why not here? If the translator inserted it, why not between each word as in 1:1 and 2:7? If this difference is recensional, perhaps in the original construction the words following כל משישה were adverbial accusatives as Briggs seems to take

them in the translation, "And I will cause all her mirth to cease in her feasts (and) her new moons and her sabbaths and all her festivals."\* It is in fact the *mirth* of these feasts that is the prominent idea. Cf. Amos 8:10; Isa. 58:13. Adopting this construction of the passage, Cheyne's observation, that the sabbath did not pass away, becomes unnecessary.

In 13:13 חבלי ילדה = ὁδίνες ὡς τικτούσης. It is difficult to determine whether ὡς is inserted to relieve the difficulty of the sudden change to the representation of Ephraim as a son immediately following, or is due to difference in MSS. It seems scarcely probable, if the translator had inserted it, that he would have been so exact in retaining the construct relation, with the particle intervening, though this construction may occur in Hebrew.

In 4:19 מזבחותם = ἐκ τῶν θυσιαστηρίων αὐτῶν. If this is to be taken as it usually is, it is the only instance of such a plural for זבח. The reading of the LXX., ממזבחותם, or perhaps with ם omitted in order to avoid the repetition of the same sound, is better. So Hitzig, citing Zech. 14:10, etc.

In 10:15, for ככה עשה לכם בית-אל, the LXX. has οὕτως ποιήσω ὑμῖν, οἶκος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. The addition of an א before עשה and ישר before אל would give the reading at the basis of the LXX., viz., אעשה לכם בית ישראל, which gives good sense here. Why should Bethel be represented as doing this and not Yahweh? Cf. 10:11; 11:1, etc. Ewald made Yahweh, understood, the subject of עשה and בית-אל accusative of place. However, οἶκος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ may have arisen from taking it as synonymous with the Hebrew, in its meaning, *house of God*; the other is generally בית און.

Other additions of this nature are οὐδέ in 1:7 (some MSS. have רוכסוים); εἶτι, 1:8; ὡς, 5:1, and εἶτι, 5:6.

2. There are also cases in which a word, phrase or even sentence is found in the Greek but not in the Hebrew. In 2:25 for אלהי the reading of the LXX. is Κύριος ὁ θεός μου εἰ σὺ, requiring יהוה אלהי אתה, and this carries out the parallelism, giving a better balance of clauses, as well as a better meaning. Other gods are spoken of, as in 3:1, but Yahweh is the distinctive God of the Israelites.

In 6:1 the LXX. has λέγοντες as an addition. With this the Targum and the Peshitta agree, but in the connection it might be inserted in interpretation legitimately, and so one cannot say that the difference is recensional; nor of the addition τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν after πρὸς κύριον for אל יהוה can one say much more, though it is probable, as in 2:25, that the full expression occurred here.

In 13:4 a most peculiar and remarkable passage is found in the Greek, viz., ἐγὼ δὲ κύριος ὁ θεός σου ὁ στερεῶν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ κτίζων γῆν, οὐ ἂν χεῖρες ἐκτίσαν πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οὐ παρέδειξά σοι αὐτὰ τοῦ πορεύεσθαι ὀπίσω αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγὼ ἀνήγαγον

\* *Messianic Prophecy*. New York, 1886. P. 170; (and) is inserted.

σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου κ.τ.λ. For this Newcome\* has given the following Hebrew, which he supposes to have been the basis of the LXX., viz.,

ואנכי יהוה אלהיך  
נטה שמים וברא ארץ  
ידי עשו כל צבא השמים  
ולא הריתיך אתם ללכת אחריהם  
ואנכי מעלך מארץ מצרים  
ואלהים וגו'

The omission in the Hebrew he thought might have arisen through the carelessness of the scribes, passing from one **ואנכי** to the other. For ἀναγαγόν he has the participle **מעלך** which is possible, though not what a retranslation of the Greek requires; in Ps. 81:11 the LXX. has the form ἀναγαγόν for **המעלך**. The Greek here requires **העליתך** though in this place perhaps the participle is better. The passage gives evidence of having been translated from Hebrew by the Hebraisms which it contains. The occurrence of the article in τὸν οὐρανόν and its omission in κτίσαν γῆν is peculiar. The position of the indirect object σοι when not emphatic is peculiar in Greek, but regular in Hebrew. However, if the passage did occur in the MS. before the translator it certainly is not from the hand of the Prophet. Sabaism among the Israelites is not mentioned until the time of Manasseh. At all events its influence came too late for Hosea's notice and moreover this is the only mention of it in the book, and it is not to be supposed that one of so intense a spirit as Hosea, would have been satisfied with giving it such a simple and passing notice as this. As to ἀναγαγόν it may be noted that in this place it gives a better balance of clauses to retain it; in 12:10, however, it is not so well retained. Other cases of this nature are found in the occurrence of γῆς before Αἰγύπτου for **ממצרים**, 12:14; cf. 12:10 and 18:4; θεὸν ὑμῶν, 14:3, cf. 6:1; αὐτοῖς after εὐρη for **תמצא**, 2:9.

Some of the additions are cases in which a clause seems to be repeated from another verse, but one cannot say whether this was a copyist's error in the MS. from which the translation was made or is due to a Greek copyist. In 2:14 the addition καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐρπετὰ τῆς γῆς is perhaps made by a copyist in order to assimilate it to verse 20, but one expects the promise to be wider than the threat of punishment. There can be no motive on the part of a copyist for the omission in Hebrew. In 8:13, καὶ ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ἀνάθαρτα φάγονται is probably taken from 9:3. With the addition καὶ οὖν τοῖς ἐρπετοῖς τῆς γῆς (4:3) cf. 2:14, 20.

II. There was, no doubt, on the part of early translators and copyists, a

\* Critical Version of the Minor Prophets. (In loco.)





observes, was probably for עָמוּ. When used of the community the singular suffix is often translated by the plural, and so the LXX. may have taken it here. The Peshitta, which otherwise does not agree with the LXX., has **חנה** and this suits the context better.

In 18:8 the Hebrew is **וַיֹּאכְלִים שָׁם בְּלִבָּיָא**; the LXX., καὶ καταφάγονται αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ σκίμνοι δρυμοῦ; the Peshitta, **ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܥܡܝܢܐ**. Sebök thinks they may have read **וַיֹּאכְלִים** or **וַיֹּאכְלִים** (the latter, if the person is changed, gives the proper consecution in tense, though the form in the text following in the same person as the preceding verbs may be regarded as coördinate with these), **כ** before **לִבָּיָא** being erased. He also takes the preceding verbs in the first person as establishing the Massoretic text; however, it is to be noted that the following verb is in the third person, and this arrangement would make the first two and the second two agree.

In 2:8 for **דְּרַכְךָ** the LXX. is τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ; the Peshitta, **ܕܪܝܚܐ**. Preceding and following this the third person is used, and such a change is hardly justifiable, even in Hosea, where the change is not infrequent. **דְּרַכְךָ** “has nothing but difficulty in its favor” (Briggs).

In 4:8 for **נַפְשֵׁן** the LXX. has τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν; the Peshitta, **ܠܥܡܝܢܐ**; the Vulgate, “animas eorum;” Symmachus and Theodotion, ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν. Thus the versions as well as some MSS. read **נַפְשֵׁן** and this is demanded by the context. However, see page 197. Compare also **יִכְרַת = יִכְרַת**, note 1 following, 12:2; **כַּס = כַּס**, 9:2.

IV. There is also a number of cases in which a substitution of one part of speech for another or a variation of expression is such that it is difficult to determine whether the reading is due to difference of MSS. or to the translator. There may be noted,

1. Cases of the variation of a word or expression, as in 1:7, where, for the Hebrew **וְאֶת-בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה**, the LXX. has τοὺς δὲ υἱοὺς Ἰούδα, requiring **וְאֶת-בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה**, which was probably in the MS. before the translator. Both expressions occur in Hebrew for the same idea, and in the Greek οἶκος may be used, as well as the expression here used, to convey this idea, viz., that of posterity. There is a score of places in the Bible where this interchange occurs, the LXX. having one form and the Hebrew the other. Perhaps these may be recensional; they may, however, be explained as due to the translator's desire for variety of expression, as the use of ἀγαπάω for **רַחַם** in 2:25 (where, however, the variant ἐλέω agrees with that in 2:3,6) must be explained. Similar to the foregoing is the variation in 2:1, **יֹאמֶר לָהֶם לֹא עָמִי אַתֶּם יֹאמֶר לָהֶם בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים**; **ἑρρέθη αὐτοῖς οὐ λαὸς μου ὑμεῖς, ἀληθέσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ κ.τ.λ.** If exact, the translation of the second verb requires **יִקְרָא**. For such variation compare Isa. 62:4 and 32:5, where, however, the LXX. in the first passage translates both words by καλέω, the last by εἶπον in both forms.

In 3:4 for מצבה the LXX. is *θυσιαστήριον* = מזבח. Sebök explains the variation as due to the confusion of letters, ז for צ and ח for ה, or as a "tendency change." This latter seems more probable. Professor Ladd observes, "The effect from the dislike of idols and their surroundings may be seen in the change by the later Jews of the word מצבה—sacred stone images which served as altars but which were regarded as objectionable, although they appear in Genesis as used by the Patriarchs, often consecrated to the service of Jehovah,—into מזבח."\* The Professor shows by a comparison of 2 Kgs. 3:2 with 1 Kgs. 16:32 that מצבה is the original in the latter; he also observes that the verb קום does not well apply to מזבח but to מצבה; cf. Deut. 16:22.

The peculiar translation of אפור ותרפים by the LXX. *λεπραρίας σινδὲ ἀήλων*, may possibly be attributed to the same cause. If not, the translator may have taken אפור in its usual meaning as an article of sacerdotal dress, and this then as the insignia of priesthood, and connected with this the Urim and Thummim which ἀήλος represents elsewhere (Thummim, Deut. 33:8; Urim, Num. 27:21 and 1 Kgs. 28:6). It may, however, be a free translation of תרפים as giving knowledge of things doubtful and hidden. In such cases there is too little basis for decision.

In 2:16 אנכי מפתיה = LXX. *ἐγὼ πλανῶ*. פתה is here taken in the bad sense and so Cheyne's citation of Ps. 107:40, where this word is the translation of תעה, hardly seems necessary, though this same verb is used for תעה in 4:12 and possibly occurred here. However, פתה is thus translated in Ezek. 14:9 and Prov. 1:10.

In 8:11 for the Hebrew לחטא the LXX. is *ἡγοπιούμενα*, requiring אהובים(?), and this is better than the repetition of לחטא which may be a corruption from לאהבה(?).

In 13:6 שבעו = LXX. *εἰς πλησμονήν* = לשבעה; cf. p. 209, for בית-אל, 12:5.

## 2. Cases in which the variation may be due to a confusion of consonants.

In 5:2 for ושחטה שטים העמיקו ואני מוסר לכלם the LXX. is *ἃ οἱ ἀγρεύοντες τὴν θήραν κατέπληξαν*. *ἐγὼ δὲ παιδεύτης ἵμῶν*; the Peshitta, *ܐܢܝ ܡܘܨܪ ܠܟܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܝܩܐ ܕܥܡܝܩܐ ܕܥܡܝܩܐ*. The Massoretic text is so peculiar that one is inclined to look with favor on the versions of the LXX. and Peshitta, which carry on the figure of the preceding verse. But it is very difficult to determine what was the basis of these readings. ἀγρεύω occurs twice for צור, though Trommius† gives גאה for this word in Job 10:16, while in Prov. 6:25 it occurs possibly for לקח. With only these few and doubtful cases one cannot easily find what was the basis here. θήρα is usually the translation of ציד, cf. Gen. 25:28; 27:4; and it seems

\* *Doctrines of Sacred Scripture*. New York. Vol. I., p. 707.

† *Concordantiae Graecae in Septuaginta*, etc. Amsterdam 1718, p. 18.

probable that צור (cf. Peshitta) was not the basis here or it would have been translated by *θηρεῖω*. Moreover the peculiar position of the relative and the construction here is unexpected. The variation may be explained, though unsatisfactorily, by the confusion of letters, צי = ש, ד = ה and ט for ט, צידים(?), לכ(ל)ם = לכם. It is easier, however, with Sebök to suppose a confusion of sound in which הצרים = השטים. The MSS. seem to have been obscure here. Compare that preceding, viz., at the end of ch. 4; cf. p. 214.

In 9:13 for the Hebrew לצור שתולה בנוה the LXX. has *eis thran parésthsan ta tékna autōn*, simplifying the difficult Massoretic reading, and with slight alteration, giving a fair parallelism. However, there has been a confusion of letters, etc., and as the reading involves the unexpected change from בניהם in the first part to בניי in the second, also the use of ציר in a sense in which it does not occur elsewhere so far as I have been able to learn, it may be due to the translator. The form שתולה = שת(לה) in this reading.

In 9:7 for the Hebrew ידעו ישראל אויל הנביא the LXX. has *καὶ καυθήσεται Ἰσραὴλ ὡςπερ ὁ προφήτης κ.τ.λ.* The difficulty of the Massoretic text renders the translation doubtful. The LXX. seems not to have had אויל and this may be a repetition of the last letters of the preceding word; however, as אויל is frequently translated by *κακόν* it may be contained in *καυθήσεται*, which requires ידעו for ידעו. הנביא in this reading would be כנביא. The idea then is that at that time Israel will be humiliated as the prophet is now. The last clause of the verse is probably altered to render the verb conformable with the previous עונך. *ἐπληθύνη* for רבה is better syntax than the A.V., viz., "great hatred." According to the received reading of this verse, as Cheyne suggests, it is necessary to supply some introductory words if the idea of reproach is conveyed. But if the true prophets are referred to, in what sense is ידעו used?

In 11:4 for the Hebrew וְאֵת אֱלֹהֵי אוֹכִיל לֹא יָנוּ the LXX. has *καὶ ἐπιβλέψομαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὀνέσσομαι αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ.* The peculiar form אוֹכִיל may have misled the translator, and even if it comes from אוכל an object would be expected. This and the fact that לֹא at the beginning of the following verse is inconsistent with 8:13; 9:3,6; 11:11, unless indeed one admit with Kuenen\* that the prophet contradicts himself, favors the reading לו which interchange with לֹא is not infrequent in the קרי and בְּתִיב, and this with אוֹכִיל is no more difficult than the peculiar use of the word. *ἐπιβλέψομαι* may be a free translation of אֵת or אֲנִי(?). The misconception of the preceding part of the verse (cf. p. 204) is shown here also, but this does not greatly affect it for the purpose here considered.

In 5:11 for צן the LXX. has *τῶν ματαίων* = שוא, which is frequently translated by μάταιος.† If צן were the form the article would be expected. The

\* *Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*. London, 1877. P. 158.

† Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen*, p. 411, regards *ματαίων* as a free translation of צן (Vulgate), which was changed to צן on account of offensiveness.

error of a scribe would be the more easy, since the initial letters of **ואני** are the same as the last letters of **שוא** (Secker).

In 9:3 for the Hebrew **ושב אפרים מצרים** the LXX. has *κατέβησαν Ἐφραίμ Αἴγυπτον* and this carries out the contrast with the first part of the verse very well, but possibly it is a confusion of **י** for **ן** since the conjunction would be expected here. Cf. also 14:8, **ישב** = *καθίσουνται* = **ישבן** (ʾ).

In 7:1 **כרפאי** = *Ἐν τῷ ἰδῆσθαι με* = **ברפאי** (?). Cf. 6:11.

V. Closely connected with the preceding are a few cases of transposition of letters and words as in 8:13, where, for **זבחי הבהבי יזבחו בשר ויאכלו**, the LXX. has *δίδοτε ἐὰν θύσωσι θυσίας καὶ φάγωσι κρέα*. The Hebrew is peculiar and difficult, if indeed it is Hebrew at all. Usually the LXX. follows the Hebrew order, especially in difficult passages, and the translation here would indicate that the Hebrew at the basis of it was, **כי אם יזבחו זבח יאכלו בשר**, which gives the same arrangement of clauses as the received reading, or even better than this. **הבהבי** looks very much like a peculiar repetition of the letters in **זבח** slightly altered, viz., **ה** for **ח**. For the use of **אם** cf. 9:12 (LXX.); cf. also **כי**, 9:16.

In 6:3 for the Hebrew **כמלקוש יורה ארץ** the LXX. has *πρώτος καὶ ὄψιμος γῆ*, and this order requires **יורה ומלקוש (ל)ארץ**, taking **יורה** as a noun as the A.V. also. The arrangement would then be similar to that in Joel 2:23, but the usual order may be taken because the word is taken as a noun, though this is not probable.

In 7:16 for the Hebrew **ישוּבו לא על** the LXX. has *ἀπεστράφησαν εἰς οὐδέν*; the Peshitta, **לֹא מִלְּפָנֵי**. These versions give little help here; they seem to have taken these two words in the reverse order, viz., **על לא**, unless the sense is "to the not high one," "no god" (Gesenius), which is not probable. In the former case **לא** would hardly be used as this arrangement requires. Williams' conjecture, **לאויל**,\* is also impossible.

In 13:10 for the Hebrew **אחי מלכך אפוא** the LXX. has *ποῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου οὗτος*; which is a fair translation, taking **אחי** as an interrogative, and it seems probable that the letters **י** and **ח** have been transposed, the original being **איה**, and this is confirmed by **אפוא**, which would naturally follow **איה** as an enclitic, but is peculiar after **אחי**. The form **אחי** would arise the more easily since it occurs in v. 7 and elsewhere. The forms in v. 14 were probably **איה** also. So the versions in 13:10.

In 13:15 there is clearly a transposition of letters, **ארצו** for **ארצר**, but amiss.

#### RECENSIONAL VARIATIONS.

There are still other variations of a different nature from those already considered. These are of such a character that they can only be explained by

\* *The Hebrew Prophets*. London, 1866. *In loco*.

supposing the translator to have used a MS. differing somewhat from the MSS. underlying the present Massoretic text. An examination of these cases will show this. There may be noted,

#### I. Additions.

In 4:17 for הִנֵּחַ-לֹו the LXX. has ἐθηκεν ἑαυτῷ σκάνδαλα. Nowack and Simson regard this as an interpretation in explanation of the preceding עֲצָבִים, but as Ewald perceived there is an incompleteness in the verse as it now stands, "And Ephraim shall not be left with his idols as is strongly enough expressed, v. 19." The sentiment too is foreign to the spirit of Hosea and especially so if satirical. This also is against the reading of Ewald, viz., "the scandal giveth him restoration." He supposes some such word as מִכְשׁוֹל to have dropped out of the text and vocalizes הִנֵּיחַ. It seems better, however, to vocalize הִנֵּיחַ, which is used of the setting up of idols (cf. Isa. 46:7 and 2 Kgs. 17:29), and to construe (? מִכְשׁוֹלִים as object of the verb. Thus the reading would be, *Ephraim is joined to idols, he hath set a stumbling-block for himself.* The last clause then carries out the idea preceding and gives good parallelism; note also the connection with the following verse according to the LXX.

In 4:18 for אֲהָבוּ (הָבוּ) קִלּוֹן מִגִּינָה the LXX. has ἠγάπησαν ἀτιμίαν ἐκ φρονήματος αὐτῆς. By the addition of a letter (א) and a change of pointing, a variant, and in this case a much better reading, is obtained. The MSS. underlying the Massoretic text seem to have been corrupted or obscure in this place as the peculiar Hebrew and variations of the LXX. in the last verses of this chapter as well as the opening of the next chapter indicate. The Hebrew of this clause is certainly very peculiar, but accepting a suggestion of the LXX., an excellent reading is obtained. Hermann\* pointed out the fact that though the present reading of the LXX. gives no fit sense, yet a restoration of that which was its basis gives a form susceptible of a good translation: he suggests מִנְאוֹנִיָּה with the translation "sie lieben Schande mehr als ihre Ehre." Cheyne favors this correction, referring גִּאֲוֹן to Yahweh, the Pride of Israel, her God. Cf. Zech. 11:3. He would then translate "they love infamy rather than her Excellency." The peculiarity of the Greek shows that the translator was following Hebrew.

II. There are also a few cases of omission which indicate that certain letters and words were not in the MS. before the translator.

In 2:23 for the Hebrew אֵנָּה נָא יְהוָה אֵנָּה אַתְּ הַשֵּׁמִים the LXX. has λέγει κύριος ἐπακοῦσθαι τῷ σὺρανῳ. The first אֵנָּה occurs unexpectedly here in the Hebrew and evidently was not in the MS. before the translator, for it is not his tendency to omit.

In 8:2 for לִי יִעֲקֹב אֱלֹהֵי יִדְעֻנּוּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל the LXX. has ἐμὲ κεκράξονται ὁ θεὸς ἐγνωκαμέν σε. יִשְׂרָאֵל occurs in a peculiar position and is probably taken from the following verse; a copyist's error, since there can be no reason for its omission.

\* Studien und Kritiken. 1870. P. 517.



In 14:3 for the Hebrew וּנְשַׁלְמָה פְּרִים שְׁפָתֵינוּ the LXX. has καὶ ἀνταποδοσόμεν καρπὸν χειλέων ἡμῶν. Here the omission of a letter causes an important change and relieves a clumsy construction of the Hebrew. The difficulty of the received reading is the only thing in its favor, if indeed the construction is justifiable. But it is just such peculiarities that a careful study of the LXX., and restoration of the text underlying it, will show to be incorrect readings. The proposal of Newcome to read פְּרִי after the LXX. relieves the difficulty and receives some confirmation also from Heb. 13:15, where the connection points to this passage rather than Isa. 57:19. This does not occur in the LXX. of Isa. 57:19, and נִיב is not translated by καρπός. The Peshitta also, departing from the LXX. and Massoretic text in other particulars, agrees with the LXX. in reading פְּרִי. The explanation of this variation given by Pococke, shows to what conjectures one is driven by the theory that the translation of the LXX. is based on the same MSS. as those underlying the Massoretic text, or rather that there were no variations in the MSS. He observed, 'For this end I conceive that καρπός here is by the Greek taken in the same notion that κάρπωμα or κάρπωσις is by them elsewhere used, viz., for a whole burnt offering, which usually the Rabbins tell us were some of them called קִין לְמוֹזֶבֶת, the καρπός or summer fruit of the altar, so were such free-will offerings, they say, called; because they were to the altar as summer fruits to a table after a banquet.\*'

III. There are also some cases of variation through change of person, number, etc. The character of these is here considered.

In 12:9 for חטא לי עון אשר חטא כל יגיעי לא ימצא לי עון the LXX. has πάντες οἱ πόνοι αὐτοῦ οὐχ εὐρεθήσονται αὐτῷ, δι' ἀδικίας ἧς ἥμαρτεν. When מִצָּא is used of discovering a fault it is usually followed by בְּ of person; but it is often used with לְ in the sense "to suffice," and this gives a better sense here, adopting the suffix of the third person for the first in יגיעי. Thus Cheyne, "(but) all his profits will not suffice for (i. e., to expiate) the guilt which he has incurred," reading חטא לען אשר חטא כל יגיעי לא ימצא לען אשר חטא; but this is a rather forced meaning, (to expiate?), and it seems better to follow the LXX., reading לוֹ for לי and putting the preposition עַל (cf. 9:15) before עון thus it would read חטא לען אשר חטא כל יגיעי לא ימצא לוֹ עַל אשר חטא, i. e., all his profits will not suffice him because of the guilt which he has incurred. This gives the same connection with the next verse as the reading suggested by Cheyne as it also gets "rid of the unnatural distinction supposed above between 'iniquity' and 'sin.'"

In 11:3 for ואנכי תרגלתי לאפרים קחם על זרועותי the LXX. has καὶ ἐγὼ συνεπόδισα τὸν Ἑφραΐμ, ἀνέλαβον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονά μου; the Vulgate, "portabam eos in bracheis meis"; the Peshitta, ܐܢܝ ܕܡܝܬܪܓܠܬܝ ܠܥܦܪܝܡ ܕܩܚܝܬܝ ܥܠ ܙܪܥܝܬܝ. Of the peculiar forms תרגלתי and קחם one cannot say much except to note

\* Theological Works. London, 1740. Vol. II., p. 684.





reason for its omission by the translator. The conjecture of Houbigant\* and others after him, viz., יַעֲזֹרֶךְ is unnecessary since the construction with כִּי is good. Cf. Nah. 3:9; Pss. 118:7 and 85:2. Of course the translation of שַׁחֲתָךְ cannot be sustained as exact.

In 13:5 for the Hebrew אֲנִי יִרְעִיתִךְ the LXX. has ἐγὼ ἐποίμανόν σε; the Peshitta, אֲנִי נִחַמְכִּי. Here, as Sebök well points out, רַעֲיִיתִךְ suits the following בְּמִדְבָּר as well as the next verse better. רַ and רִ are readily confused; note also the י of אֲנִי which might easily be repeated. The Targum gives a free rendering in אֲנִי סוֹפְקִית צוֹרְבֵיהוֹן, but it shows the sense demanded here.

In 13:15 for the Hebrew כִּי הוּא בֵּין אֲהִים יִפְרִיא the LXX. has διότι οὗτος ἀναμέσων ἀδελφῶν διαστελεῖ; the Vulgate, "Quia ipse inter fratres dividit, etc."; the Peshitta, .... נִסְחַם. These versions require יִפְרִיד instead of יִפְרִיא, for it is not probable that they took this verb as equivalent to the Arabic فَرَى. This then becomes a reference to the separation between Judah and Israel. Cf. Zech. 11:14.

In 5:8 for the Hebrew אַחֲרֵיךְ בְּנִימִין the LXX. has ἐξέστη βενιαμίν. Here again is a peculiar phrase in Hebrew, it being necessary to supply to convey the supposed meaning, while the LXX. אַחֲרֵיךְ בְּנִימִין is at once clear and forcible in this connection. Cf. the translation of חָרַד, 11:10, 11. Cheyne's translation of this is good, viz., "Benjamin is distraught." For the conjecture of Meier,† viz., אַחֲרִית, I fail to find the support which he finds in the LXX. It is evident that the Massoretic reading might readily have been corrupted to the present form. Cf. Judg. 5:14.

In 13:2 for the Hebrew כְּתוֹנִים עֲצָבִים (כ in some texts) the LXX. has κατ'εἰκόνα εἰδωλῶν; the Vulgate, "quasi similitudinem idolorum"; the Targum, כְּדִמּוּתֵיהוֹן (וְעִבְרוּ לְהוֹן מִתְּכָא מְכַסְפָּהוֹן). These versions require the reading כְּתַבְנִית עֲצָבִים, which indicates that there was no art then in the manufacture of such images (Cheyne).

In 2:11 for לְכַסּוֹת the LXX. has τοῦ μὴ καλύπτειν, which requires מְכַסּוֹת, as this is the usual method of translation of the infinitive with מִן. Commentators have succeeded in explaining the use of the ל as that of purpose, but an ellipsis must be supposed, such as, which should have covered. Strange infinitive force! If referred to the nouns as לְכַסּוֹת must be, another pointing of the consonants at the basis of the LXX. would be more forcible, viz., מְכַסּוֹת. Cf. Ezek. 1:11, 23, etc. However, the reading מְכַסּוֹת is the one expected from the context.

In 5:7 for חֲרִישׁ the LXX. has ἐρυσίβη. Kuinoel's conjecture חֲרִישׁ (cited by Drake) is due to the theory that the variations must be explained so as to harmonize with the Massoretic text, and this only involves the confusion of ר

\* *Biblia Hebraica. In loco.*

† *Studien und Kritiken. 1842. P. 1023.*

and **ד**, but **הרש** is not translated by *ἐρυσίση* in the LXX., though this is not decisive. It seems more probable that the reading was **הסיל**. Cf. Joel 1:4 (LXX.). The sense of the LXX. is manifest, needing no explanation. If **הרש** is taken in the sense of month, the most natural meaning, as it occurs without the article, then, as Prebendary Huxtable observes, "The Hebrew scriptures perhaps furnish no other example of that particular form of personification by which a period of time is spoken of as itself effecting what is done by other agents in it."\*

In 4:18 for **סר סנאם** the LXX. is *ἤμετις καναναίους*. It is supposed by many commentators that the translation of the LXX. arose from the reading **סנאים** and the confusion of the Sabaeans with the Canaanites, but this again is due to a theory. Only on the supposition that the MS. underlying the translation differed somewhat from those underlying the Massoretic text, can such variations be explained satisfactorily. A remark of Ewald shows that a fair reading is given by the LXX., viz., "it attached itself in close friendship to the Canaanites; in which case we should have to read **סר כנען** (comp. **נוסר**), and the sense would not be bad in this connection as well as suitable to the words in 12:8, if only **כנען** were not so very unlike the letters **סנאם**." Theory then is all that is against the reading of the LXX. **סר** (**סר**) is not so translated in the LXX., but was chosen because of the similarity of the letters. **בחר** is the word most commonly so translated, but does not seem quite suitable here, though a better word does not suggest itself to the writer.

In 8:10 for **וַיִּחְלוּ מַעַט מִמַּשָּׁח מֶלֶךְ שָׂרִים** the LXX. is *καὶ κοπάσουσι μικρὸν τοῦ χρίεν βασιλέα καὶ ἀρχοντας*. Ewald's rendering of the Hebrew, "cease a little" (pointing **וַיִּחְלוּ**) and "sorrow a little" (A.V.), are both open to Nowack's question, Why a little?† Nor is the reading given by Simson, Wünsche, etc., better, viz., "in a little, etc." What usage is this? **מעט** in 1:4, cited by Nowack, is different. Nor yet that of Hitzig, Keil,‡ R.V., etc., "they shall begin to be diminished" (reading **מעט** as inf. or "adj. verb"). Cheyne well asks, "Why 'begin'?" None of the above explanations being satisfactory, the only remedy is with Cheyne to turn to the LXX. which reads **וַיִּחְלוּ מַעַט מִמַּשָּׁח מֶלֶךְ וְשָׂרִים**, possibly **וַיִּחְלוּ** as Ewald read, may be retained; the rendering would be "that they may cease for a little from anointing a king and princes." The reading "king and princes" is found in some Hebrew MSS. and in the versions: it is confirmed also in the following citations by Reuss,§ viz., ch. 3:4; 7:5; 8:4 and 13:10, where "king" and "princes" are thus associated.

In 3:2 for the Hebrew **וְהִזְכִּיר שְׁעָרִים וְלָהֶן שְׁעָרִים** the LXX. has *καὶ γομῶ*

\* Bible Commentary. London, 1876. Vol. VI., p. 440.

† Der Prophet Hosea. Berlin, 1880, p. 150.

‡ Commentary on the Minor Prophets. Edinburgh, 1878. Vol. I., p. 116.

§ La Bible. Part II. Les Prophètes. Paris, 1876. In loco.

κριθῶν καὶ νέβελ οἶνου; never ἡμκόρον for לֶחֶךְ, as Gesenius and a number of commentators give it, so far as I have been able to learn. Cheyne suggests that probably the translator was unacquainted with the "lethech;" but this fails to account for the transliteration of a Hebrew word. As לֶחֶךְ is one of the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα and there is no measure corresponding to it in the Egyptian dry measure, which, as Cheyne observes, "in other details agrees exactly with the Hebrew," it is very difficult to determine the cause of the variation and at the same time suspicion is cast on the Hebrew word. γόμορ is used as often for חֹמֶר as for עֹמֶר,\* and so one cannot determine which was in the MS. before the translator, or some aid in explaining the variation might be derived from it. οἶνον for שְׁעָרִים might be explained from the use of barley to make wine. Compare also the plural of κριθή in Greek; or possibly, according to Schleusner, "Sed mihi שְׁכָר legisse videntur."

No explanation on the ground of the use of a MS. similar to that of the Masoretic text is satisfactory. Why should the translator give a Hebrew word in Greek letters if he did not find it in the MS. before him? Newcome supposed that θύλακος, which Symmachus used in the translation here, had crept into the Greek from the Hebrew. This change, however, would not have occurred long before the translation of the LXX., while the word is found in the Odyssey and was used also by Aristophanes; moreover there is another word, λήκεθος, which is just as likely to have come from לֶחֶךְ, but it occurs in Aristophanes, Euripides and Herodotus. It seems more probable that the Hebrew came from the Greek, from confusing the two words, perhaps, with a transposition of consonants, viz., θ(υ)λ(α)κ(ο)ς / λ(η)κ(υ)θ(ο)ς—a very easy confusion with the different arrangement of the consonants in the Greek words. The former was used for meal, etc., and from the Greek translation, may have passed into Hebrew in this disguised form. There seems to have been great confusion among the Fathers in the reading of this passage. A remark by Epiphanius, viz., *Λεθεκ δὲ, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ὡσηὲ τῷ προφήτῃ εἰρηται, ὅτι ἐμισθωσάμεν ἑμάντῳ λεθεκ κριθῶν ἐν ἀντιγράφοις δὲ, γόμορ κριθῶν, τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς· δέκα γὰρ καὶ πέντε μόδιοι σημαίνονται οὗτοι*,† shows that he regarded the "lethech" and the homer as the same measure wrongly, thinking that there were two homers, one of twelve and the other of fifteen baths, the "lethech" corresponding to the latter. This looks as if there had been an understanding that the two expressions were equivalent or that *λέθεκ* was an explanation of *γόμορ*. In the editor's discussion of this passage, a reading from Ambrosius is cited, viz., "Et conduxī eam gomor hordei et semi-gomor hordei et nevel vini." This combines the two readings, but affords no light on the question considered, except in showing that the texts of

\* Driver, however, gives a number of instances showing γ to be the transliteration of y (έ ?), pp. 105, 106.

† *Patrologia Graeca*, edited by J. P. Migne. Paris, 1858. Vol. XLIII., pp. 272, 273.

the versions have been tampered with. Whatever the origin of the variation may be, the reading of the LXX. is at least as satisfactory as the received reading.

The explanation of this, referring to 2 Kgs. 7:18, and the inference that a homer and a half of barley would have a value of fifteen shekels, which plus the fifteen shekels of silver would equal the price of a slave, Ex. 21:32, is simply arbitrary. It rests upon the following uncertainties: the value of (1) barley, (2) a slave, (3) לֶחֶךְ; the reason for the amount being (1) the price of a slave, (2) part money, part barley. The best explanation of the received reading is that this amount was given for provision (Huxtable), and this applies to the LXX. also. Cf. I Sam. 25:18; II Sam. 16:1. An offering might also have been contemplated, cf. I Sam. 1:24; perhaps a jealousy offering, cf. Num. 5.

#### CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

Thus it is seen that, while there are many variations in the LXX., most of these can be satisfactorily explained. It is inevitable that there should be some corruption in the Greek text, and this renders the reading in some places doubtful, but such cases are nearly always manifest and thus one is warned not to use these for critical purposes. The fact also that the translator's aim was to produce a translation for the use of the people of his times, and not that the Hebrew text might be reconstructed from it, allowed him to translate as he understood the Hebrew, and thus to interpretation a number of minor variations may be attributed. Yet the fairness and the literalness of the translation are, withal, astonishing; and these would no doubt seem even greater if we had the MS. from which the translation was made.

The faithful reproduction of Hebrew idioms and even the order of words in Hebrew is remarkable. In ch. 1:9 the translation *καὶ ἐγὼ οὐκ εἶπὼν ἑμῶν*, shows that if **לֵאלֹהִים** has dropped out of the text, as many suppose, it must have been before the LXX. was translated. Many other passages showing that the LXX. is a protection against rash conjecture, might also be adduced. But is the value of such a translation to end with this? So, many treat it. An example may suffice to show how the translations of the LXX. are usually treated, viz., in ch. 2:22 the text of the Western Jews is **יְדַעַת אַתָּה יְהוָה** as found in our Hebrew Bibles, but in the Babylonian codex the reading is **יְדַעַת כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה**. Now if our Hebrew text had happened to have read as the Babylonian codex, no doubt those who regard the LXX. as of no value, would have found here a false translation of the LXX., supporting the text by the Vulgate, "*scies quia ego Dominus.*" Both translations, however, may be sustained on the supposition that there were different readings in the Hebrew MSS., as there are in this case. This illustrates the difference between the explanation of the variations, by those who hold that there were different recensions of the Hebrew text, and that given by those who do not admit this.



In the present investigation it has been the aim to explain all the variations which can fairly be attributed to the translation as due to this. But after one has studied the character of these variations, whether due to free translation or to imperfect transmission of the text, and has noted the general tendency of the translator in those instances in which it is evident he has given a free translation, he finds that there are some variations which might possibly be attributed to the translator, but are more likely due to difference of recension or perhaps in some cases to imperfect transmission of the text. There are still other variations, however, which cannot be explained in this way. These can only be explained as arbitrary or recensional, but the general fidelity of the translator will not allow the former explanation, moreover the excellence of the readings in many cases will not admit it. Certainly the important variations are not numerous, but one would not expect many variations in Hebrew MSS. of a book the size of Hosea.

The peculiar addition in ch. 13:4 may be thought to reflect on the character of the MS. used by the translator. Yet such peculiarities may easily be detected, and it is to be remembered that if we had the early Hebrew MSS. it would be necessary to use critical judgment in choosing a variant reading, just as is the case with the MSS. of the New Testament. It seems of great importance therefore that the text of the LXX. receive more attention, that it may be had in its very best and most complete form, in order that a more careful comparison of the version with the Massoretic text may be made. Great results certainly may be expected from such study, even in the Minor Prophets, where the translators are supposed to have treated the text with great liberty.

It seems strange that the American Revisers, otherwise less conservative than the English Committee, should have disagreed with the latter in that they refused any reference to the Septuagint and other versions. Care must certainly be used and great discrimination in the study of the versions for textual purposes, but to throw such a valuable critical aid as the Septuagint out of consideration, is to reject what Providence has preserved; it is to close one's eyes to the light.



# NOTES ON THE ANALYSIS OF GENESIS I.-XXXI.\*

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In the so-called *Urgeschichte*, Gen. I.-XII., the analysis of Budde,† if taken with a grain of salt derived from Kuenen,‡ seems to the present writer on the whole a true one. If the poetic structure discovered by Prof. Briggs§ in Gen. I. really exists, this lends additional force to the argument that this chapter, in other respects so strongly contrasting with the usual style of P, was not original with him, but worked over and incorporated from J<sup>2</sup>. For elsewhere in the priestly document there is not one trace of poetry discoverable, either in thought or structure. A further bit of evidence in favor of Budde's J<sup>2</sup> (considered by him to have employed *Elohim* previous to Gen. IV. 26—cf. ver. 25) may be derived from Deut. IV. 32 sqq., where indeed *Elohim* in 33 sq. may be accounted for by translating a God; but not in ver. 32. Here the most probable explanation to my mind, in view of the general practice of D, is a retained peculiarity of the source, and so also in 33 sq. There being absolutely no trace of P in D, this reference may accordingly be taken as evidence for an underlying elohistic J<sup>2</sup> in Gen. I.||

In Gen. VI. 4 I regard the first two clauses אַחֲרֵי־כֵן . . . הַנְּפִלִים as due to supplementary redaction in place of a simple, וַיְהִי כ, an interpolation intended to explain the *Nephilim* of Num. XIII. 33. But the original writer was not giving an aetiology of *Nephilim*, but of *Gibborim*, for the identifying of whom with the *Nephilim* there is not only no evidence, but ver. 4b indicates them to have been quite a different class from the *Nephilim*, and by no means necessarily of gigantic stature. Cf. x. 8 sqq. with Num. XIII. 33. In the latter passage the *Nephilim* appear to be E's parallel to J's *beni-Anak* of vs. 22, 32. At least there can be no certainty that any mention of *Nephilim* occurs in J, and the superfluity if not the disagreement of this clause with the latter part of the verse, together with the extreme awkwardness of its position, seem to be against it.

When J relates the birth of a person or class of persons of importance he says, "— took to wife — and — went in unto — and she (they) bare a child (children) unto him" (them), and then proceeds to tell what became of the child

\* A series of sketches preliminary to the author's new analysis of Gen. I.-Ex. XX. in *Bibles within the Bible*. Student Pub. Co., Hartford, Conn., 1891.

† *Die bibl. Urgeschichte untersucht*. Glessen, 1883.

‡ *Th. Tijdschrift*, XVIII. 121-171.

§ *Biblical Study*, p. 278, and *HEBRAICA*, April, 1888.

|| Cf. Wellhausen *Comp. d. Hex.* (Berlin, 1889), 186-189.

or children. Cf. IV. 1,25; XXXVIII. 2sq., etc. He does not interrupt or anticipate this natural order by inserting in advance what the child is going to be after it is born, nor other information which has nothing to do with the story of the birth, but tells his story connectedly. Read now VI. 1-4 as the aetiology of the Gibborim, of whom Nimrod is one mentioned later, and omit ver. 3 (according to Budde displaced from after III. 21), and the disturbing clauses at the beginning of ver. 4, inserting a simple ׀ after אֲשֶׁר, or יְהִי כְאֲשֶׁר, and we have just what J uniformly writes in such cases: "The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all that they chose. And the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men and they bare children unto them; the same were the *Gibborim* which were of old, the men of renown."

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Kautzsch and Socin\* call attention to the fact that x. 1b is probably from J<sup>2</sup>, and argue thence that ix. 18sq. = R. Insert, however, x. 1b between ix. 19a and 19b and there is no occasion for rejecting anything but 18b.

From vs. 8,13,15 it may perhaps be inferred that in J<sup>2</sup> the sons of Ham were a triad, Cush, Mizraim, and Canaan.

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For the analysis of ch. xv. see *HEBRAICA*, VII. 1.

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Chapters XX.-XXII. are admitted by all critics to have undergone harmonistic treatment by JE only less severe than that of ch. xv. where E's narrative is first introduced. Omissions occur not only after xx. 2 (cf. vs. 6b,17sq), but in ch. XXI. the substance of xxvi. 12-25 (J) has fallen out between vs. 21 and 22, as appears from ver. 25. The aetiology of Beersheba is retained, perhaps because it differs in its etymology from that of ch. xxvi. It has repeatedly been remarked, however, that portions of the last verses (32b,33) do not fit this narrative. Yahweh, ver. 33, might be explained as a scribal alteration. Not so, however, 32b, which assumes that Beersheba is not in the land of the Philistines, but that Abimelech and Phicol have come away from their own land. This is in accord with xxvi. 26sq., but not with xx. 15; XXI. 22sq. and 34. The subject of the verbs in ver. 33 is also curiously wanting. But to attribute 32b sq. to R is a mere subterfuge; there is no motive for interpolation. To the above objections to 32b, 33 in their present position I will add that 31 and 32a are equally inappropriate. The etymology led up to in vs. 28-30 is based upon שֶׁבַע in the sense of "seven." Abraham obtains the well for "value received," and in token hereof *should* name it "Well of the Seven," otherwise the "seven" lambs are not the "witness" they are intended to be (ver. 30). If now we are suddenly put on another track, and find that the well was not called the well of the seven but "the Well of the Oath,

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\* *Die Genesis*, p. 17, notes 28 and 30.

because there they *sware* both of them," it leaves the expected etymology from שבע "seven" hanging in mid-air. Ver. 32a again is here a mere repetition of ver. 27, which does not need to be repeated, because in 28 sqq. we have passed on to a new theme. Finally the form of ver. 31 is decidedly characteristic of J. The remedy for all this is a simple transposition of vs. 31-33 into the place of xxvi. 33, and of xxvi. 33 into this place. The missing subject of ver. 33 is therefore Isaac; the play upon "sware," ver. 31, finds its necessary antecedent in xxvi. 31; the returning into the land of the Philistines finds its condition precedent in xxvi. 26; the "calling on the name of Yahweh," ver. 33, and the על-כן 'וְנִי, ver. 31, find their explanation in the fact that these verses are taken from the J version of the Beersheba-saga. On the other hand xxvi. 33 correspondingly fits, both in style and content, with equal exactness between xxi. 30 and 34.

With regard to ch. xxii. I have only possibilities to suggest. Ver. 14 is universally acknowledged to have suffered alteration, and "Moriah," ver. 2, is of course dependent upon the altered situation and etymology. "Yahweh," v. 11, and the supplementary second appearance of the angel, vs. 15-18, are of course due also to the Jehovistic redactor, and furnish additional evidence of the *Umdeutung* the whole chapter has undergone. Nevertheless it is certain that the alteration of ver. 14 was, as usual, only superficial; for ver. 8 leads up to a derivation from the stem ראה and the saying, 14b, cannot have been manufactured. Unless the redactor was unusually fortunate in finding one exactly suited to his purpose, we must suppose that he found it in the original. Again, if he had been manufacturing an etymology for "Moriah" he surely would have made a better fit than *Yahrceh-yireh*, a *lucus a non lucendo* which surpasses even the etymological wonders of J and E. May we not suppose that his work was mainly a mere alteration of Yahweh to Elohim, as elsewhere (cf. ver. 11), so that the saying, 14b, was originally of E's well-known *Mount of God* where "he is seen" by Moses and the people, Ex. iii. 6; xxiv. 11; and sought, if not seen, by Elijah, I Kgs. xix. 13 (cf. Ex. iii. 6).<sup>\*</sup> The transformation to "Mount of Yahweh" then immediately suggested "Moriah" (Ex. xv. 17), in place of the name of a *land* which must originally have stood in ver. 2.

What then was this "land" where the "mount of God" was? Assuredly "the land of the Negeb," Gen. xxiv. 62; Num. xiii. 29.

For a long time, mistaking the origin of "Moriah" for a phonetic modification, I had sought to connect it with *Moreh*, xii. 6 (J), Judg. vii. 1, or with האמר, but met the objection that the hill of Moreh (Shechem) cannot possibly be called a "land," whereas "land of the Amorite" is too general, and "land of Hamor" very unlikely. A further objection not to be disregarded is the carrying

<sup>\*</sup> I suspect that the number 40 in xix. 5 has been conformed to Ex. xxxiv. 28.

of the wood. Carrying wood from Beersheba to Shechem or any part of the "hill country of the Amorites" is worse than "carrying coals to Newcastle." Not so if Abraham journeyed southward to the "Mount of God." The graphic imagination of the narrator depicts before his mind's eye the sandy, rocky, treeless wastes of the southern *Negeb*. Else why does he speak of the wood at all? If he simply did not think, he simply would have kept silence.

What now did Abraham, according to the original ver. 14a, "call the name of that place"? for the characteristic form of the half verse indicates that again nothing is altered here but the mere name itself. In view of ver. 8, which assuredly leads up to an original etymology from *הר*, and of 14b, which with the mere alteration of Elohim to Yahweh I judge to be original, I would suggest as possible, *El-roi*, and that we have—or should have—here E's parallel to the etymology of J in xvi. 13. True J is there aetiologizing on the name of the deity of a certain locality, whereas here it is the locality itself, perhaps the altar itself,\* whose name is accounted for. But this is exactly the practice of E. He calls "the place" or "the pillar" *El-Bethel*, or *El-Elohai-Israel* (cf. xxxiii. 20; xxxv. 7). I venture therefore to think that E may have written in ver. 14, "So Abraham called the name of that place *El-roi*; as it is said to this day, In the mount of God it shall be provided."†

A very important consequence of this conjecture is the implied location of Horeb near Beer-lahai-roi. *A priori* this would be far from an unlikely scene for E's setting of the single incident he relates of Isaac, cf. xxv. 11b (J). My analysis of *Exodus* leads me to the belief that Sinai (J) and Horeb (E) are by no means identical in location, and that Horeb at least must be looked for in the *Negeb*. We shall understand then why Moses should "lead the flock to the further side of the wilderness" (from *Oush*) since he aimed at the *oasis* which had been the home of Isaac; and why Israel on their way to *Kadesh* from Egypt and *Shur* should come to Horeb the mount of God, if this was "between Kadesh and Bered," "in the way to Shur," xvi. 7, 14. We shall understand the seeming interchangeableness of Massah and Meribah, Kadesh, Rephidim and Horeb, in Ex. xvii.; Num. xx., etc.; and why Amalek who "dwelt in the land of the *Negeb*," Num. xiii. 29, should come to attack Israel there. Abraham's three days' journey from Beersheba, xxii. 4, agrees also with Hagar's wandering. It disagrees entirely to be sure with I Kgs. xix. 8. But I think there is reason to suspect the genuineness of these forty days and nights, or to doubt whether they were days and nights of travel.

Further explanations and evidence will be found in my "Bibles within the

\* *המקום* in the pregnant sense, "the (sacred) place."

† Doubtless the sense of the saying was that of the margin, R.V., "He shall be seen" (cf. xvi. 13 and the conjectural reading of Well., *Comp. d. Hex.*); but E naturally prefers a less anthropomorphic sense and interprets as ver. 8 requires.

Bible" (Student Pub. Co., Hartford, Conn.), soon to appear, and in the series of articles in *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, x. sqq., on "JE in the Middle Books." If the present conjecture bears the weight of adverse criticism, a very welcome light will be thrown upon E's whole narrative of the Exodus; "Horeb, the mount of God," Ex. III. 1, will receive the preliminary explanation of which it now stands in so much need, and even the critic who demands as the original scene of Gen. XXII., *jedenfalls eine berühmte Menschenopferstätte*, will perhaps find satisfaction.

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For the analysis of ch. XXVII. see *HEBRAICA*, VII. 2.

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In my opinion Kautzsch and Socin are right in their analysis of ch. XXVIII. and XXIX. 1-14. Kuenen's objections to XXVIII. 13-16 = J, are not conclusive, especially if, as I conceive, this passage has been taken from its original position in the connection of XXXV. 14 and transferred hither by JE. The linguistics of ver. 14, נברכו, פרץ, משפחת, and the doctrinal standpoint of ver. 16, which is not of an editorial nature, but leads up to the *naming*, ver. 19, speak strongly for J. On the other hand, ver. 15 cannot be assigned to J as in Kautzsch and Socin, for it follows, item by item, ver. 20, which is certainly (XXXI. 13; XXXV. 3) E's. The only obstacle to understanding J's Bethel story to have occupied originally the position where the fragment XXXV. 14 still remains, is thus removed. P had then, no doubt, authority for placing his Bethel theophany after the return from Paddan-aram, and so Hos. XII. 5 [4].

The division of Kautzsch and Socin in XXIX. 14 is to be preferred to Dillmann's. Cf. Gen. II. 23.

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Note of the analyses of JE in the latter part of chs. XXX. and XXXI. are acknowledged to be completely satisfactory, even by the analyzers themselves. I may be permitted therefore to present one which in some respects may possess advantages. In ch. XXX. vs. 32 and 33 are, as Wellhausen points out (*Jahrb. f. D. Th.* XXI. 428 sqq.), in flagrant contradiction to both what precedes and what follows. The sense of ver. 31 is unmistakably this (cf. Dillmann, *Genesis*<sup>5</sup>, p. 341), "Thou shalt not give me aught *now*; hereafter, when certain lambs to be specified are born, they shall be mine" (ver. 39 sq.). In ver. 32 Jacob proposes on the contrary to sever out the speckled and spotted *now* and take them ("it shall be my hire"). The sense of the last clause of ver. 32 is not to be obliterated by connecting it with ver. 33 (Dillmann), for the sentence produced is too awkward (cf. Kautzsch and Socin, p. 67, note 125), nor can it be assumed, with Kautzsch and Socin, that the words are merely an ancient gloss, for which there is no sufficient ground. On the contrary ver. 33 agrees exactly in conception and language with 32 (both have the phrase "speckled and spotted among the goats and black among



the sheep"; elsewhere different language is employed), and both agree with xxxi. 8a, which must be the ultimate determinator of what E had. Vs. 32 and 33 taken together are perfectly in order and comprehensible. Jacob takes, as xxxi. 8 says, "the speckled"; and Laban may see for himself when he comes "to-morrow" or "in the future" that Jacob has taken none but "the speckled." This agrees neither with 31 ("thou shalt not give me aught") nor with 35 (*Laban* separates the flock), but it is self-consistent and agrees with xxxi. 8. We may therefore safely regard the whole of 32 sq. as E's.

Vs. 34-36 are then just as certainly J's, for here we have a different object in view in the separation, one which in all these verses is identical. *Laban* removes the parti-colored animals, and removes them *a long distance*, to prevent intercourse between the herds; quite a different matter from *Jacob's* mere setting apart the speckled for his own.

Vs. 37 and 38a again contain Jacob's counter-move by which Laban's cunning is over-matched. He overcomes the obstacle of distance. There is not only the immediate connection of the sense to show that this passage belongs with 34-36, but its whole spirit of diamond cut diamond over-reaching on Jacob's part is contrary to E's representation; for in E Jacob's position is that of injured innocence. God interposes on his behalf and "suffers not Laban to hurt him" (xxx. 7), while Jacob himself is the **אִישׁ תָּם** of xxv. 27, "the man of simple integrity." But 38b, from **בְּשִׁקְתוֹת**, "in the watering-troughs," on, is clearly E's duplicate of 38a and 39 (J). In ver. 41 (J) we have "in the gutters" simply, to which Rje has added here the parallel expression of E, by way of explanation of the unusual **רְחִטִּים**, "gutters," of J. Still more striking is the reduplication of the last clause of ver. 38 compared with the first of ver. 39. The latter verse is clearly connected with J's account (ver. 37) of Jacob's trick. Vs. 41 and 42 are also manifestly a part of the same story, and the latter verses make plain the reason of the first and last clauses of ver. 40, viz., Jacob has now charge of an exclusively white flock, and has obtained control of the color of the progeny; hence, having secured a flock of parti-colored lambs, he does not permit them to mingle indiscriminately with the white (Heb. **לָבָן** *laban*) flock of Laban, and so take the chances of further parti-colored births, but adopts the (in the author's eyes) surer means of the rods, allowing the progeny to resume their natural white color only when the flock are in poor condition. Laban, three days' journey distant, does not realize what is happening. Ver. 43 also is clearly J's not only on account of **פְּרִי** and **שִׁפְחוֹת** but from the connection with xxxii. 4 sq. Only the middle clause of ver. 40 stands out in irreconcilable incongruity with this representation. How indeed is Jacob to "set the faces of the flocks" in any given direction? and what is it expected to accomplish when the parti-colored flock is three days' journey off? And, finally, what is the use of it when Jacob has already attained his purposes by another and easier method? The answer is, The middle clause of



ver. 40 belongs to E; and to this the language again corresponds. It is not the "speckled and spotted" (E under Laban's *first* agreement) nor "the ringstraked, speckled and spotted" (J), but "the ringstraked and all the black" (E under Laban's *second* agreement. Cf. xxxi. 8b). Thus the fragments of E in ch. xxx. agree with the résumé of the story in xxxi. 7 sqq. E related a changing of Jacob's wages with the final result that not merely "the stronger were Jacob's and the feebler Laban's," ver. 42 (J), but all the flock of Laban became Jacob's, xxxi. 9 (E). Laban assigned him the speckled; then *God* caused all the flock to bear speckled. He offered him the ringstraked; the *whole* progeny was ringstraked. Jacob's effort in his own behalf is confined to setting the two kinds of sheep opposite one another "at the watering-troughs" where it could easily be done (38b, 40, middle clause).

Critics are for the most part quite agreed upon the analysis of xxxi. 1-18. The only questions in debate are as to the possible interpolation of vs. 3, 10, 12. Vs. 1 and 2 are easily seen to be doublets, the former J's, the latter E's (cf. ver. 5). Ver. 3 is referred to by xxxii. 9, but this latter is itself an interpolated passage, and ver. 3 is excluded by ver. 1, which supplies the motive for Jacob's return. A didactic interest has supplemented this comparatively unworthy motive by a special divine direction. Ver. 12 interrupts the necessary connection of ver. 11 with 13 and is in the highest degree malapropos. The language too heaps together adjectives which in E must have applied only in separate instances; "ringstraked" at one time, "speckled and grised" at another. The matter may perhaps have been derived from E's story of the acquisition of the flock, but in its present position ver. 12 must be due to didactic interpolation. The same remarks apply of course to ver. 10. With the exception of ver. 18 (P) the rest of vs. 1-20 is indisputably E's; but the middle clause of ver. 21 is a new beginning, duplicating the first clause, and 25a is a more remarkable doublet of 23b. Ver. 25b too comes in too late after ver. 24 to belong to E. Ver. 27 also not only duplicates ver. 26, but brings into striking contrast its different expression for denoting the stealthy flight of Jacob (ver. 26, "didst steal my heart;" v. 27, "didst steal me"). All these phenomena are rightly noted by the later critics and the indicated fragments assigned to J. Also the gap in ver. 25, where the name of "the mountain" has been omitted, doubtless in deference to E's narrative which made Mt. Gilead the scene of both camps. In connection herewith, however, it should be noted that only in the J passages in the complicated mosaic at the end of the chapter is there an apparent attempt to furnish an etymology for *two* places; E's narrative confining itself to the name Gal-*eed* (Gilead). Observe also that ver. 31 stands in the worst possible connection with its present context, "Wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?—Because I was afraid," etc. The verse contains really the answer, not to the question which stands immediately before it, but to that of ver. 27 (J), "Wherefore didst thou flee secretly?" On the other hand, by withdrawing

ver. 31, we bring ver. 32 into a better connection after ver. 30. The וַיֹּאמֶר of LXX. at the beginning of ver. 32 may then well be genuine, and marks the beginning of Jacob's answer in E.

Both matter and language show that the succeeding verses down to ver. 42 are E's. A single clause, "and into the tent of the two maidservants," has been supplemented in ver. 33, as the last clause of the verse shows; but the mere parallelism of vs. 38 and 41 (Well.) without any trace of divergence in the conception, is scarcely sufficient to suggest the presence of J.

Not until we reach ver. 48 can there be any reasonable doubt of E as the author, but here the impression is very strong upon my mind that the debate between Laban and Jacob in E reaches a conclusion with Jacob's triumphant rejoinder of ver. 42; and that ver. 43 is the answer to Jacob's imputation in ver. 31 (J). In E the *teraphim* are the matter of prime importance. It seems to be J who brings the *daughters* into the front rank of controversy, and instead of Laban appearing in rather humiliating colors, discomfited and put to shame by Jacob, himself and his gods turned to ridicule by Rachel, in J it is Laban who makes decidedly the best appearance, acting a really generous part (vs. 27, 48 sq.), while Jacob presents a rather sorry excuse for his flight from a shadow (ver. 31).

Ver. 44 is evidently concerned to furnish an etymology for Gilead (Gal-eed) for וְהָיָה לְעֵד "it shall be for a witness" can only refer to some substantive now missing. A clause has been omitted which, as the evidently contemplated etymology suggests, can only have been וַיַּעֲשֶׂה גִל "and make a heap" (Olshausen, Dillmann), in spite of Kautzsch and Socin. The verse thus stands connected with vs. 48-50, where the etymology is developed according to J's style, returning to the word played upon and concluding with his regular עַל-כֵּן קָרָא שְׁמוֹ גִלְעָד "Therefore was the name of it called Gal-eed" (48b). In this passage (vs. 46-50) there has been considerable alteration, transposition and interpolation, as has long been recognized; yet the main characteristics of language are J's, and the subject of the covenant, ver. 50, again agrees with the topic of discussion in vs. 27, 31 and 48 (J), and contrasts with that of E, vs. 32-42, 52. Moreover it is Laban who seems to have the best of the argument in these verses of J, and hence Laban also who naturally takes the initiative in the suggestion of the covenant; for as Laban undertakes to tell the meaning of the cairn in vs. 48 sqq., it must be Laban, and not "Jacob" as in the present text, who says to his *brethren*, "Gather stones," etc. Ver. 47 is either, as Wellhausen says, "a very superfluous exhibition of learning" on the part of some interpolator, or else has been removed from between 58a and 58b, and perhaps altered in the process. At any rate it has no place alongside of ver. 48 and is much more than superfluous where it stands. Ver. 48b, the formula with which J's aetiological narratives regularly conclude, can of course originally have stood nowhere but after ver. 50, this verse itself being separated from its true connection with 48a, as has long

been recognized, by the intruder ver. 49. Finally אלהים "God" in ver. 50 is easily recognized as a subject wrongly supplied by some glossator, since it destroys the sense of the narrative. It is not God (*Elohim*), but the cairn (*gal*), which is to be the witness (*ed*) between the parties to the covenant; else the etymology is lost.

It is easy simply to banish ver. 49 from the text as an interloper. Undoubtedly it is in a wrong position and has occasioned the straying of 48b; but the language agrees with the style of J, and one cannot forget the significant gap in ver. 25, where Jacob's camp was also located by J, but in a different place from Laban's. There were then *two* names of places in J's narrative. Did not each have its aetiology? And what other place more likely to be associated with Ramoth-Gilead in this connection than the famous Mizpah of Gilead? It seems to me not at all impossible that in J this verse may have followed upon the story of vs. 48-50 somewhat as follows. [And Jacob set up a stone in the place where he had pitched his tent] and called it Mizpah (Sam. המצפה, LXX. *Μασσηφα*), for he said, Yahweh watch (צפה *tsaphah*) between me and thee when we are hidden one from the other." The erection of *masseboth* or "pillars" is comparatively exceptional in J in contrast with E, but there is abundant evidence in xxxv. 14 and Josh. iv. 20 that they are not unknown to this writer, as erections of the patriarchs, or at least of Jacob. The curious variants of Sam. and LXX. can scarcely be accounted for save as traces of an original play upon the name המצבה *ham-massebah* "the pillar," which can only have stood in the original J (cf. Well. i. p. 432, note). Is it possible that J was again indulging in a word play, connecting *massebah* with the stem צפה through the resemblance of מצבה and מצפה?

Vs. 51-54 are again another story of the covenant at Gilead with a different motive (establishment of a boundary line) and a second covenant feast (cf. vs. 46 and 54). Vs. 51 sq. labor under a load of interpolation in the shape of harmonistic redaction which has introduced both cairn and pillar where only one can be intended. That the one which originally stood in E's narrative was, in spite of Kautzsch and Socin, the cairn (*gal*), and not the pillar (*massebah*), should be sufficiently clear from the fact alone that E is obviously giving also, as J has given already, vs. 48 sq., an etymology of Gilead (*Gal-ed*, not *massebah-ed*); but there is additional evidence that the cairn belongs here and the pillar is interpolated, in the fact that in the single instance passed over by the interpolator (middle of ver. 52), it is the *cairn* which stands by itself and not the *pillar*. It becomes apparent from this that 51-54 must be regarded as E's story of the covenant at Gilead. But certainly the favorite *massebah* of E was not left out of this story to appear only in J. No, E also attributes the pillar to Jacob and the cairn to Laban, but here it is naturally Jacob who takes the initiative (vs. 45 and 54), as seems most appropriate after Jacob's speech in ver. 42. The redaction of E's narrative

included beside the introduction of "the pillar" in vs. 51 sq., the supplementation of ver. 53a with the superfluous clause "the God of their father," which contradicts E in Josh. xxiv. 2; and perhaps also the removal (and alteration?) of ver. 47 from between 53a and 53b. With this restoration but few words are lacking to make the narratives of both J and E in ch. xxxi. fairly complete; a result not only gratifying in itself, but corresponding to the procedure of JE as developed in the close inspection of other passages where the strands of J and E are most intimately interwoven.

The above analysis of chs. xxx. and xxxi., as well as the suggestions upon previous passages of difficulty, will prove, let us hope, not barren of valuable deductions and inferences for the historical critic. An improved analysis of the succeeding chapters, especially in Exodus, will certainly afford important results.

## ➤BOOK + NOTICES.◀

### WRIGHT ON COMPARATIVE SEMITIC GRAMMAR.\*

The time has not yet come for the preparation of a scientifically satisfactory comparative grammar of the Semitic tongues. Nor does the volume of Wright lay claims to the distinction of being such a work. The title page does not announce it as a comparative grammar, but as lectures on the comparative grammar of these languages. The work does not claim to be a solution of a vexing and perplexing problem, but only a contribution towards its solution. And as such it is entitled to a place in the front rank of purely philological works in the Old Testament literature of the day. Detailed researches in not a few of the leading questions of comparative Semitic grammar have already been made, both in etymology and in syntax. These contributions and preliminary investigations are found in nearly all the larger grammars, such as Olshausen's and Stade's Hebrew grammar, Dillmann's Ethiopic grammar, Wright's Arabic grammar; also in the publications of Lagarde, Nöldeke and others in books, pamphlets and magazine articles, while special researches, such as Driver's discussion of Hebrew tenses, or Philippi on the Status Constructus, and several treatises on the prepositions, on the infinitive and other topics, have handled these individual topics in an almost exhaustive manner. It was time that some specialist should draw the *facit* of what had been done, and intelligently compile and gather together the treasures of thought found so widely scattered. This Wright has done in a manner that makes his work absolutely necessary to the student of the Semitic languages. Very little seems to have escaped him. Nor can it be said that his volume is merely a compilation. It is true that those who have been working in this line will recognize probably in more than one-half of the instances cited matter that has been used and approved by specialists in other works; but a good many of the data are doubtless the result and fruit of Wright's own studies. Naturally it is impossible for any reader to control the correctness of each and every comparison; but as the work is edited by Professor W. Robertson Smith and the proof sheets passed through the hands of "the little giant" of Strassburg, Professor Nöldeke, generally recognized as the leading Semitic scholar of the world, we have a reasonable right to have confidence in the quality of the work done, aside from that already inspired by the established reputation of the author himself.

The book itself grew out of lectures delivered at the University of Cambridge. In all there are nine chapters, treating of introductory matter; of the term Semitic; the original home and the diffusion of the Semites; general survey of the languages; Semitic writing and alphabet; the Vowels and their permuta-

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\* LECTURES ON THE COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES. From the papers of the late William Wright, LL.D., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press. New York: Macmillan and Co., 1890. Pp. xi, 288. Size 6x8 inches. Price \$3.50.

tions; the Pronouns; the Noun; the Verb (regular); and the Irregular Verb. To these are added a few additional notes and corrections. As is thus seen the work covers only etymology and the forms; the syntax being entirely left out of consideration. As a rule Wright confines himself to the statement and arrangement of the facts and does not endeavor to go further and unravel the mysteries of the philosophy of the Semitic tongues. Doubtless this is the part of wisdom; as we have not yet a sufficient number of facts on all the subjects in question to justify extensive theorizing. Ewald's Hebrew grammar is an illustration of the result of abstract philosophizing without a full foundation of facts. Wright generally takes positions on points *sub judice*, but he is cautious and conservative, only rarely, as in his hypothesis on the Personal pronoun, venturing into deep waters. All these features of the volume make it an excellent handbook for advanced students and for teachers. It is not free from errors. The omission of all mention of Praetorius' *Ethiopic Grammar*, of Merx *Chrestomathia Targumica* and other literature, at the proper places, is to be regretted. Indeed it is almost a crime that this excellent manual has been permitted to appear without any indices whatever! It would have doubled and trebled the value of the work for the student's use if these had been added. For the omission of the indices there can be no excuse whatever, as any wide awake student in this department could have prepared them.

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#### KEILSCHRIFTTEXTE ZUM GEBRAUCH BEI VORLESUNGEN.\*

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Delitzsch's *Lesestücke* has become a household word among students of Assyrian. With its help they have all treaded their way through the maze of the Assyrian syllabary. It is natural that they have conceived a love for it as for an old friend. With the exception of Lyon's *Manual* (which was intended to serve other purposes) and Teloni's *Orestomazia*, no serious attempt has been made to improve upon the *Lesestücke*. Messrs. Abel and Winckler—well known from their other joint publications—have attempted to do this. They must have thought that, in some one way or another, Delitzsch's work even in its third edition did not quite satisfy the requirements. And, though they do not expressly state it, the idea that guided them in this is to be found in the first sentence of the preface, "The present publication is intended solely for practical purposes, and wishes only to give beginners a selection of such texts, the study of which will enable them quickly and surely to carry on their studies of their own accord." Their book must, therefore, be judged by their own standard; and that standard is its greater practical usefulness in beginning the study of Assyrian.

The *Keilschrifttexte* has one great advantage to begin with. It is cheap: half again as cheap as the *Lesestücke*. Every student can thus become possessor of a copy. Though it contains only about 102 pages to the 148 of Delitzsch's publication, the amount of material given is much greater, as the whole is more com-

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\* KEILSCHRIFTTEXTE ZUM GEBRAUCH BEI VORLESUNGEN, herausgegeben von Ludwig Abel und Hugo Winckler. Berlin: W. Speman, 1890.



pressed. In this compression clearness has not been sacrificed as regards the texts. But in one part it has resulted unfavorably for the student,—in the *Schrifttafel*. It is true that we have some 384 signs, against 326 in Delitzsch—undoubtedly the largest collection of signs in any of the current handbooks. But in Abel-Winckler the double column makes the finding of the different signs difficult, especially for beginners. The commentary on each sign is also compressed into one single column, making it impossible for the eye to come to the aid of the searcher. Here the *Lesestücke* with its different columns will commend itself.

What is to be specially commended in this new publication is the selection of the texts. The editors have rightly laid stress upon this. Students will always have to confine themselves, during the first two or three semesters, to historical inscriptions, monumental and other. A large selection of such texts ought to be made readily accessible. This Abel and Winckler have done. They give us forty-eight pages of historical inscriptions arranged in chronological order, from Tiglath Pileser I. to Xerxes. Whilst in Delitzsch we have but a few pages devoted to these historical inscriptions, we have here material enough to give students a thorough induction into the cuneiform script and grammar. The scarcity and unwieldiness of Layard and of the *Rawlinsons* add an additional value to this publication. Several lengthy inscriptions are given entire—of Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon. The editors have, however, not kept strictly to the task they themselves have set. As the book is especially intended for students, we could readily have dispensed with the first page, containing the old Assyrian inscriptions from Kalah Sbergat; and the last twelve pages as well, which contain seventy-six lines of the Flood story, a few extracts from the syllabaries and a few hymns. Whoever is ripe enough to take up such texts as these will go straight to the originals; and will read, not a bit, but the whole of the text. In a future edition it will be well to omit these pages, and in their place to enlarge the table of signs and arrange it in a little more practical manner. On the whole then as regards the text Abel-Winckler is a decided improvement upon Delitzsch: and it is these texts primarily which will give the new *Keilschrifttexte* entrance into our universities and colleges.

There remains the glossary! I wish I could say the same of it as I have said of the texts. But, measured only by the standard set by the editors themselves, it does not come up to one's reasonable expectations. Why have the Hebrew letters used by Delitzsch in the *Lesestücke* been abandoned? For mere practical purposes it is necessary that the eye of the student catch at once the letters of the root. They should be distinguished in some way. And why, again, have they abandoned the good principle of arranging the words under their respective roots? It is true that our Hebrew dictionaries have not yet climbed to that pinnacle. But this is only one out of a number of their sins of commission and omission. It is confusing for a student to see *tibūtu* separated from *tibū*, *tidūku* from *dāku*, *tidišti* from *idišu*, *limetu* from *lamū*, *libittu* from *labānu*, etc., etc. Otherwise, the glossary makes no pretence to be more than a help to the student. I have gone through a number of the inscriptions with that end in view, and have found all the words duly registered there. To many of the translations and derivations there given scholars will take exception; and, doubtless, Winckler himself—who is alone responsible for this portion of the

work—would now change much in the light which later criticism has thrown upon many of the inscriptions.

The texts are excellently reproduced. Abel has done his work well. The script of the monumental inscriptions (especially the Black Obelisk) is exceedingly clear and bold; whilst the script of the other inscriptions, though evidently modelled after that of the contract tablets, comes very fairly near the actual script of the inscriptions.

Delitzsch's *Lesestücke* is, however, not made superfluous by this new publication. It can well exist side by side with it. It has a worth above and beyond that of a mere text-book. The syllabaries and vocabularies will still have to be studied there, as well as the story of the Flood.

The note on p. 46 is entirely gratuitous. A comparison of the two texts shows not more than *four* variants!

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### DRIVER'S SAMUEL.\*

In his preface, the author discusses the reliability of the MT., which "has suffered unusually from transcriptional corruption," and the history of the textual criticism of the Books of Samuel. Otto Thenius in his *Die Bücher Samuels* (1842) was the first to point out the value of the LXX. for the study of the MT., and Ewald in 1848 follows closely on the same lines and makes too frequent use of the results of Thenius, without suitable acknowledgment. Driver regards Wellhausen's monogram on the text of the Books of Samuel (1871) as epoch-making. After discussing Wellhausen's methods, he says: "Wellhausen's scholarship is fine: his judgment is rarely at fault; and in the critical treatment of the text, I have been strongly sensible of the value of his guidance. I trust that I may not appear to have used his volume too freely: my excuse, if I have done so, must be that I was writing for English students, most of whom are unacquainted with German; and I could not withhold from them some of the best and soundest results which have been gained for the textual criticism of the Old Testament." The author claims that, notwithstanding his very great indebtedness to Wellhausen, he has always maintained an independent judgment, and a study of the book fully confirms this statement. Driver also acknowledges the value of Klosterman's commentary in Strack and Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Commentar zu den Heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments* (1887), but he regards him as too original, too ingenious, "too apt to assume that the text has suffered more than is probable," and, although scholarly, his restorations are often far-fetched and "betray sometimes a defective appreciation of Hebrew modes of expression."

In his Introduction, Driver discusses

I. The Early History of the Hebrew Alphabet—the כתב עברי and כתב

\* NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL, with an Introduction on Hebrew Palaeography and the Ancient Versions and Facsimiles of Inscriptions, by the Rev. S. R. Driver, D. D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890.

אִשּׁוּרִי, or the so-called Hebrew and Assyrian characters, the latter in later times known as the כְּתָב מְרֻבֵּעַ, or square character; the transition of the former to the latter. He also gives facsimiles of many gems and inscriptions written in the עִבְרִי, e. g., the inscription of Mesha (as an appendix) and numerous Aramaic, Hebrew, and Phœnician gems. To these are added a transliteration in the square characters, a translation and commentary. The history of the discovery of the Siloam inscription is also given, with transliteration, translation and notes.

II. Early Hebrew Orthography—the division of words. The author thinks that the division of words had been pretty definitely made, and the five final letters introduced before the MT. was established. The LXX., however, often translated from a text with divisions differing widely from those of the MT. He then notices that the *plena scriptio* was rare and that the suffix of the 3 sg. masc. was written הַ instead of י, etc., etc.

III. The Chief Ancient Versions of the O. T.—the MSS., the LXX. (which he regards of very great value for the study of all the books of the O. T., but especially valuable for Samuel, parts of Kings and Ezechiel), Targums, Peshitta, etc. The history of these versions and a conservative estimate of their value are given under this heading, but nothing new is added. It is, however, a valuable collection of facts for the student.

IV. Characteristics of the Chief Ancient Versions of Samuel. Here Driver takes up the characteristics of the versions in great detail. His tables are very valuable for the history of textual criticism and as furnishing a basis for the canons which should guide us in our criticism.

I will now examine a very few of his emendations to the MT. of Samuel, taking the examples from the first Book. In III. 7, we have טָרָם יָדַע, i. e., טָרָם with a Perf., which is very rare. Driver suggests יָדַע the Impf. and his emendation is rendered almost certain by the יָנֵלָהּ in the parallel. His grammatical note on IV. 15 is very instructive. He adds nothing new to the difficult passage in V. 4, where he would either accept Wellhausen's view that the original was נָגַן and the ך has arisen by dittography from the נִשְׁאָר, or simply say that a word had been dropped out of the text. In IX. 24, the difficult הֶעֱלִיָּהּ is taken up at length. הַ, with a preposition, with the apparent force of a relative occurs only here. This makes the reading of the MT. very doubtful, and Driver is inclined to read with Geiger, וְהָאֵלִיָּהּ = the fat tail. In XII. 7 he would follow the LXX.'s καὶ ἀπαγγελῶς ἔθεν and insert וְאֵנִידָה לָכֶם. Cf. his remarks on XII. 21 on the intrusive כִּי. XIII. 1 he would take as a marginal gloss. The last three or four verses of ch. XIII. are very difficult and Driver is not able to give us any help. He regards the הַפְצִירָה פִּים as hopelessly corrupt. In XIV. 16 the וַיֵּלֶךְ is to be corrected with the LXX. to הָלַם וְהָלַם = ἔθεν καὶ ἔθεν. Why not retain the וַיֵּלֶךְ here and simply insert the first הָלַם which could have been omitted because of second הָלַם? In XIV. 18 we must also read with the LXX. הַנִּישָׁה הָאֲפֹדֶר, cf. V. 3 and XXIII. 9. Cf. also his notes on XIV. 21. These examples are sufficient to show his methods, and his position towards the MT. We would have been pleased if he had discussed the literary problems, but these lay without the compass of his book.

In conclusion I would say that Driver has given us a good model for further

work in this line. Every book in the O. T. should be edited as a text-book with textual, grammatical, lexicographical and historical notes. It would also be well to add a glossary of the Hebrew words, so that the Hebrew of any one book could be compared with that of any other. Such critical editions of Hebrew texts would be of great aid not only to the student, but to the higher and lower critics. Driver's lexicographical and grammatical notes are numerous and valuable. He is very conservative. He has made good use of Wellhausen's work on these texts. In the main, he accepts Wellhausen's conclusions. Wellhausen's judgment is seldom at fault, as Driver admits. The texts of Samuel are very corrupt. Every page is full of errors. Driver has attempted to point these out and to correct them. His work has been very successful. The books of Kings should receive similar treatment at once, and all the history furnished by the Assyrian inscriptions should be incorporated in the notes.

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### SCHEIL'S ŠAMŠI-RAMMÂN IV.\*

In the preface, the author notes the main points of history connected with the inscription, the difficulty of the text, the poor transcription of the Archaic into the late Assyrian script found in I R. and also the fact that this text contains several unusual and difficult Assyrian words.

Then follow a transliteration and translation of the four columns of this inscription. The method of transliteration is essentially that of the Leipzig school, which is much preferable to the usual French or English (Sayce) system.† With the exception of the preface, the book is autographed and one must add that the author's script is poor and careless. The 67 pp. could have been condensed to 24 if put in type, but for this the publisher could not have charged 8 frs. Hence the number of pages.

There are numerous evidences of great carelessness on the part of the author in his transliteration. I can notice only a few examples: In 1:41 he reads ušpalkit and in 2:28 and 3:37 attapalkad and in 4:4 appalkid. In the glossary the stem is given as palkâtu. In col. 1, he uniformly writes apal, and later just as uniformly abal, neither of which is correct. In 3:40 we read natbaki and in 4:3 nadbak. There is no consistency in the placing of accents, and in many places the diacritical points of the ḥ and š are omitted—and these mistakes cannot, as is usual, be excused as typographical errors. Both transliteration and translation are to be preferred to those of Ludwig Abel in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*. I will notice only a few readings: In 1:3

\* INSCRIPTION ASSYRIENNE ARCHAÏQUE DE ŠAMŠI-RAMMÂN IV. Roi d'Assyrie (824-811 A.V. J.-C.) transcrite, traduite et commentée par le P. V. Scheil, lecteur en théologie de l'ordre de Saint-Dominique. Paris: H. Welter, 1889, pp. vii and 67.—Tables des matières: Texte et Traduction, 2-30; Commentaire philologique, 31-47; Notes de Géographie, 48-55; Notes d'Histoire, 56, 57; Glossaire, 58-67.

† Comme système de transcription, nous avons préféré le plus scientifique, malgré sa témérité, le système à transcription liée et accentuée.

and 31 Scheil reads mukir (instead of the usual mu-rim) markas šamê and translates *qui tient en mains les rênes du ciel*, etc., taking mukir from a root kâru. He also reads appul and ippul for abbul and ibbul; garduti for kardûti; pad for paṭ; ḥalzâni for ḥalšâni, etc., etc.

The philological notes bring us nothing new except a few bold readings and derivations which cannot be accepted. For the most part, they are very elementary, being entirely lexicographical. Questions of grammar and syntax have been entirely ignored. The Geographical notes are very meagre and Delitzsch's *Wo lag das Paradies* is closely followed. This inscription is most important for the geography of Assyria and this subject should have received a better treatment. In the glossary, there is no method in the arrangement of the words. For the most part, derivatives are not placed under their respective roots; כ and פ, נ and ק are used indiscriminately and the roots are given in transliteration rather than in the Hebrew. Many mistakes have crept into the glossary, one of the most glaring of which is the placing of muntahḥiṣi under tahâzu.

This book gives us a fairly good translation of the Šamši-Rammân IV. inscription, but nothing more. It is not adapted to the use of students, being bulky and carelessly written. It is not necessary to the library of an Assyriologist.

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# HEBRAICA

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## TWO NESTORIAN RITUAL PRAYERS.

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In the same manuscript from which I furnished *HEBRAICA* with the text of "The Story of Arsânîs" and of "The Narrative of Moses Elect in Prophecy," are two prayers of some interest. An English translation of both is given in Badger's "Nestorians and their Rituals," Vol. II., pp. 280, 281. But his texts must have differed somewhat from those which I have.

The first prayer is the "Prayer said over the Bride when she enters the church forty days after marriage," and the other the "Prayer said over a child and its mother when it enters the church forty days after delivery." Whatever analogy there may be found in Western customs to the first, the second answers to the Anglican and Protestant Episcopal "Churching of Women."

Of the first I have two texts; one in a manuscript comprising the entire Marriage Service of the Nestorians, which I received from Urmî (Oroomia) last year; and this I take as the text to present here, giving in notes the material variants of the text in my other manuscript first above mentioned. My reason for this choice is (chiefly), that in the marriage service this prayer seems to be used of the bride alone, the ceremony being *her* purification, a thing of which the bridegroom, according to many prevalent notions, and the different constitution and functions of the sexes, should stand in no need. But in the first above-mentioned manuscript, the scribe has added words here and there, and placed points ungrammatically, and changed inflexional and suffix terminations (sometimes, apparently, by mistake), so as to give a text which could be read over *either* bridegroom or bride—and that notwithstanding the fact that some of it (at least according to Oriental notions) is wholly inappropriate to the bridegroom.

I have given the important variants of this latter manuscript in foot-notes. If any one will take the trouble to compare Badger's translation, he will see, besides some small matters, that the three are all different in one place; the probability being that Badger's text there omits one word which the other two properly contain, while another word is probably omitted by one of the other texts, and another by the third. The liturgical genius would probably read "that her feet may walk with alacrity in righteousness and holiness," instead of "walk in righteousness and holiness" (Badger), or "walk with alacrity and in righteousness" (Marriage Service MS.), or "walk with alacrity and in holiness" (other MS.). Further, the closing sentence in Badger and the other MS., seem more likely to be the correct text than that in my (possibly reformed) Marriage Service MS.

Of the "churching" prayer, I have only the one text, and think it quite as likely to be correct as that of Badger.

The following is the text of the Prayer over the Bride. The notes give merely variants from the other manuscript. I have not thought it worth while to reproduce the pointing.

יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ

סְלֵבָה סְלֵבָה

\*Omitted by mistake.

כְּחֵטְא [sic]

יְחֻלָּה

סְלֵבָה אֶל מִרְיָם סְלֵבָה

כְּחֵטְא [sic]

\*Omitted by mistake.

יְחֻלָּה [sic]

סְלֵבָה אֶל מִרְיָם אֶל מִרְיָם

יְחֻלָּה probably the

יְחֻלָּה [sic]

יְחֻלָּה

scribe's misreading of an abbreviated suffix.

יְחֻלָּה

יְחֻלָּה [sic]

\*Omit.

[illegible]

## TRANSLATION.

(The notes give variant renderings from the other MS.)

The Prayer that is said over the Bride<sup>21</sup> when she enters<sup>22</sup> the church after forty days.

O merciful and compassionate Christ, our God, whose bounty is shed forth towards all, shed forth thy bounty and help towards this bride,<sup>21</sup> and sanctify her in thy mercies,<sup>23</sup> and vouchsafe<sup>24</sup> that she may love good things and hate evil things, and that she may work the works that shall be well pleasing to thee; and that from her bosom may come forth fruits of joys, that may be reared in the faith of the holy church, and that by thy will she may walk before the bridegroom<sup>25</sup> so that she may see him beautiful with her eyes, and may hearken to his commandments with her ears, and acknowledge them, and may speak the truth with her mouth, and love him in sincerity with her heart; and that her hands may do his will, and her feet may walk with alacrity and in righteousness.<sup>26</sup> And may the bride and her bridegroom, and her groomsman and her bridesmaid, be kept from all [things] that harm, <sup>27</sup>by the prayer of our Lady Mary, Mother of our Redeemer and our Saviour, Our Lord Jesus Christ—blessed be his name forever and ever.

Of the second prayer, I give merely the text and translation, as follows :

18) مِفْعَصِي      19) مِفْعَصِي      20) مِفْعَصِي  
 21) مِفْعَصِي      22) مِفْعَصِي      23) مِفْعَصِي

[illegible]

11 bridegroom and bride.

as they enter.

23 in mercy.

4 Omit "and vouchsafe."

<sup>25</sup> before the bridegroom, or before the bride.

[Other changes, not here noted, make the formula applicable to either bridegroom or bride, but result in a barbarous pointing and text.]

26 holiness.

27 For the rest, substitute: "through the prayer of Thy mother, the second heaven, the blessed Lady Mary, and of all Thy saints, now and in every time, and forever and ever. Amen. (And let him sign [the sign of the cross] upon their heads.)"



## THE ORDER OF THE SENTENCE IN THE HEBREW PORTIONS OF DANIEL.

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It has been stated by conservative critics and largely admitted by some more liberal, that the Hebrew of Daniel offers too scanty material from which to draw any conclusions as to the date of its composition. Without here affirming the contrary, it is the object of this paper to present some data in view of which it would seem necessary to modify the above statement. It is well established that such a thing as a historical development in Hebrew syntax is a fact, and investigations in the cognate tongues have shown and are showing every day the marked changes in syntactical structure, which in them also were wrought either by natural decay or the difference in environment as the centuries passed. The greatest drawback to such investigation in Hebrew is the meagreness of the material. While the other Semitic tongues, in general, present such a wealth of literature that the various phases of the development can be traced with tolerable accuracy, such is not the case with the Hebrew writings. And even of those which we have, the date of the majority is very uncertain. Under these circumstances the formulation of any theory of syntactical development is much hampered; first by the lack of material, and second, by the vast periods which intervene between the disputed dates of many of the most extensive products of the literature, so that any theory at all is almost an impossibility till the dates of the books are established with some degree of certainty. Notwithstanding these difficulties which beset the case as a whole, it would seem that in the matter of individual composition certain definite results *can* be obtained, which offer ground for a legitimate induction. It is with this end in view that an examination of some phases of the syntax of the Hebrew of Daniel has been made, rather than for the mere syntax itself, and as data for comparison were also indispensable we shall be nearly as much concerned with some other books as with Daniel.

There is no more definite rule in Hebrew than that which governs the order of the sentence as far as its two chief members are concerned. Indeed we may go further and say that the definite order, predicate-subject, is according to a fundamental principle of the language, which regards the idea contained in the verbal form, as the most important, and hence to be presented first. The subject is entirely secondary and being already implied and contained in the verbal form, therefore follows. Any violation of this principle is for a legitimate



reason; the expression of an adventitious circumstance, emphasis, contrast, chiasm, etc. When both predicate and subject are nouns the opposite order prevails, because not an *action* but a continuous and permanent *condition* is expressed, which demands the same order as in a circumstantial clause. The exception in the case of the predicate adjective is, that it may not be mistaken for an attributive. The above principles being inviolable, save in respect of the exceptions cited, any violations not in accordance with these exceptions may be regarded as abnormal, and if habitual would point to a time when loose usage and laxness prevailed. Hence an examination into the order of subject and predicate seemed to the writer the division of the syntax which would offer the most conclusive results, and it is rather a presentation of results which is here designed than any detailed discussion of them.

Even the most superficial reading of Daniel reveals a looseness and freedom of syntactical structure which is in strange contrast with the earlier simplicity. The writer does not seem at home in the language, and his style is radically different from that which preceded his alleged exilic date. He never rises to a conscious control and complete grasp of the language, such as marks the strong periods of the second Isaiah. Its elements seem cumbrous and clumsy in his hands; the monotonous recurrence of the same construction in successive clauses naturally vitiates any vividness which would result from a choice of expressive words, for in his vocabulary the writer is forcible and strong. But a closer and more systematic examination into the structure of his sentences substantiates the first impression. A strange liberty prevails, and there is entire indifference to some of the fundamental principles of syntax. For example, in the ordinary declarative sentence it seems to make but little difference to the writer whether the subject or predicate precedes, *e. g.*, 8:8a, וַיִּפֹּר הָעֵשִׂים הַגָּדִיל וּנְ. \* There is no reasonable ground here for the precedence of the subject. The clause cannot be circumstantial; it is not an emphatic or chiastic arrangement and we can only say that the writer had little or no constraint upon him in the arrangement of his sentence. But to what extent does this looseness of structure prevail? A tabulation of all the declarative sentences reveals that 32½ per cent. of these are of this abnormal order. This classification *excludes* all clauses which could reasonably be called circumstantial or inverted for emphasis, etc. In doubtful cases, the benefit of the doubt was accorded, and such clauses were excluded. What reason can be assigned for this writer's abnormally frequent use of the compound nominal sentence? Including *all* such clauses their occurrence would be at least 35 per cent. of all declarative sentences, and it would be absurd to declare that they are all circumstantial, emphatic, etc. Such an explanation is impossible

\* If the reader wishes to note other examples which come under no law, see 8:1; 8:2; 8:5; 8:8; 8:12; 8:22; 8:27. Their frequency in this chapter may afford some idea of the looseness which prevails, and show how lax is the style.

on the face of it, and an examination of such individual clauses as the above demonstrates that it is not the case. We must then accept the fact that this writer sets at utter defiance the law above stated and writes in entire disregard of it. But this fact does not stand alone. We find the same peculiarity is characteristic of the simple nominal sentence, or rather its opposite is true. The continuance of any state or condition, since it implies the prominence of the *subject*, demands as above stated, the precedence of the same. This is a fundamental law; but is not so regarded by the writer of Daniel; e. g., 8:17b, : *בִּי לְעֵת־קֵץ הַחֲזוֹן*.\* This order prevails in 28½ per cent. of the simple nominal clauses. Of course it is necessary in this class to exclude all cases in which the predicate is an adjective, for the precedence of the predicate adjective is so prevalent as to be almost regular. The explanation of this abnormal order in the simple nominal sentence is not far away. The precedence of the subject as already often stated is ordinarily of marked significance, if the predicate be a verb. Now, as we have noted, there occur in Daniel numerous cases of the compound nominal sentence, in which there is no significance. That is, this inverted order no longer means anything to this writer. Hence it is no longer necessary or essentially natural for him to place the subject first in the simple nominal sentence, for the idea of continuance of condition implied by the precedence of the subject is gone. This may explain the paucity of circumstantial clauses in Daniel according to our classification, to which some objection might be offered; but many compound nominal sentences which we have counted as circumstantial have been translated as principal clauses by the revisers. I have not counted the number of such clauses which the revisers have rendered as circumstantial, but they would be very few indeed, and I believe this is largely true of the rest of the Old Testament also.

Now the explanation of this usage is by no means easy. That a difference from ordinary usage, so marked, could have arisen at once we cannot believe. The development is too broad and deep-seated, it goes down into the fundamentals of the language. Is it the result of a long process of syntactical decay just as the gradual dissolution of the organic forms in the language had taken place centuries before? Or shall we call it a development into greater freedom and larger liberty of use rather than a dissolution, and say that the early limitation which confined the chief members of a principal clause to one stereotyped order was narrow; that the language is now breaking away from the primitive fetters which hampered and clogged its action, and attaining a broader scope, just as in later times its vocabulary grew to meet the larger range of thought? Be the change one of development or decay, we are inclined to attribute it to outside influences, for the same phenomenon is observable in the Aramaic of the book.

\* Other examples of the same order will be found in 8:17,19; 9:23,26,27; 10:1, etc. It is true that a predicate consisting of a prepositional phrase is inclined to precede, but we have in Hebrew no rigid rule for this case as in Arabic.

Driver\* remarks, "A tendency may often be observed in the Chaldee portions of Daniel and Ezra to throw the verb to the end." Indeed we may go further and say that it is *more* than a "tendency," for it is extremely prevalent in the declarative sentence, and with the imperative the precedence of the *object* is so frequent as to be almost regular. With the infinitive it is also very marked. The tendency in the Aramaic is therefore much stronger than in the Hebrew where it is largely confined to the declarative sentence, there being *no* instance of an object preceding an imperative and with extreme rarity, one preceding an infinitive. This phenomenon in both languages cannot but forcibly remind us of the Assyrian in which the subsequence of the verb is regular. Especially is this true of the Aramaic infinitive following its object, which is a rigidly regular order in Assyrian, whenever the infinitive is not a substantive in construct with a following genitive but is treated as a finite verb. (Cf. DG. p. 339) e. g. (Esarh. A. I 48,49) *danân Ašûr....kullumimma to show forth the might of Ashur*; also (Tig.-Pil. I 49) *mišir mâtišunu ruppûša ikbi'uni, to increase the territory of their country they commanded me*. The resemblance to such Aramaic phrases as the following is quite remarkable לָא אַתִּי אֲנִשׁ עַל־יִבְשֶׁתָּא דִּי מַלְכָּא יִבְלֵ לְהַחֲיוּהּ וְגוּ. Is it not reasonable to suppose that the language of a nation whose conquests were so vast and so long continued, and which so impressed the nations round it with the genius of its progressive spirit, must have strongly affected and to some extent warped the kindred tongues with which it came in contact? And though it finally succumbed to the resistless encroachments of the Aramaic, it was probably in many respects a Pyrrhus victory for the latter. If then the Aramaic exhibits the influence of the Assyrian why not also the Hebrew, though perhaps more largely at second-hand through the Aramaic? Prof. William R. Harper would explain some of the puzzling imperfects of the II Isaiah as due to the Babylonian influence;† and the grounds for such a conclusion are very strong.

Before passing to the comparison of Daniel with other books, we note some further facts of less importance concerning it. As a general observation it may be said that the order of words follows the looser rules with much more regularity than those more rigid. As an example of the close observance of a less stringent rule, we may notice the position of the indirect object when it is a pronoun, in which case it usually follows the predicate and precedes the direct object. This, though not an inviolable rule, is well observed in Daniel, cf. 1:7 and 17. Even when it is a noun, the indirect has a strong tendency to precede the direct object. In view of the frequency of entirely abnormal orders in Daniel, it is strange that so few arrangements for emphasis exist. Ewald (quoted by Driver, *Heb. Tenses*,

\* *Hebrew Tenses*, p. 306.

† Cf. article "Some of the Imperfects in the Deutero-Isaiah" in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, 1891.

pp. 305-6) notes the following variations for emphasis, viz. *Object, predicate, subject*, which puts the emphasis on the subject. This order occurs once in Daniel, 9:26. (2) *Object, subject, predicate*, a very rare arrangement which does not occur at all in Daniel. It is regular for the participle, but there is no case of it to be found in Daniel, though the participial construction is very common as is usual with late Hebrew. (3) *Subject, object, predicate*. This is not found in Daniel. It makes prominent the subject and is a common enough arrangement. (4) *Predicate, object, subject*. This order, which emphasizes the subject, is found in 10:18, but this single occurrence may be explained by the fact that the object is a pronoun, and being after  $\text{וְיִי}$  and construed with  $\text{כִּי}$ , the writer regards it as practically equivalent to an indirect object and hence regularly places it after the predicate, as we have seen he is in the habit of doing. It is thus very evident that the writer does not avail himself of those strikingly emphatic arrangements which are so great an advantage to the style of the earlier prophets, especially Isaiah. In the case of the relative clause the chief fact of interest is that in all clauses where the relative pronoun is the direct object of the verb, there is no instance where the pronoun also occurs as the real object. This would indicate a time when  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$  had entirely passed over from being merely a relative particle or *nota relationis*, into the true functions of a relative pronoun.

Passing now to the comparison of Daniel with other books, we take up Ecclesiastes. It is needless to argue here for the late date of this book. As the writer in the Encyclopædia Britannica remarks, that on the continent, if one were to set about proving that Solomon did not write Ecclesiastes, it would be equivalent to adducing evidence toward a demonstration that the world does not stand still. Assuming its late date therefore, this book may serve to show us the state of the syntax in later Hebrew as evidenced by the order of words. By an examination of all clauses consisting of subject and finite verb we find that 35½ per cent. of these are of the order subject-predicate, and this, after giving the benefit of the doubt to all possible circumstantial clauses or arrangements for emphasis, etc. This is not far from the 32½ per cent. of such inverted order in Daniel. In the case of the simple nominal sentence in Ecclesiastes, the occurrence of the abnormal order predicate-subject is 20⅞ per cent. This is again to be compared with the 28½ per cent. of a like arrangement in Daniel. Are these books very far apart in time? or is an inference that they are not, to be met by the objection, that such a looseness might have prevailed over a century-long period, and that thus, books which are hundreds of years apart may exhibit the same peculiarities? This is a valid objection and a comparison as limited as the above is not conclusive. The length of time during which such syntactical anarchy prevailed must be further defined and limited as to the *terminus a quo*. A tabulation of the declarative sentence in the Hebrew of Ezra was therefore made with the following results: Comp. nominal clause, not circumstantial, nor arranged for emphasis,

etc.,  $28\frac{1}{3}$  per cent.; simple nominal clause, order pred.-subj.  $18\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Assuming some period subsequent to the time of Nehemiah as the date of this book it will be noted that an author writing at this time, is a degree less loose and irregular than the writer of Ecclesiastes at the time of the Maccabees(?), or Daniel writing, as alleged, in the time of the captivity. Passing on to an earlier time and examining Malachi (former half of the fifth century?) we find these results: Comp. nominal clause not circumstantial, nor arranged for emphasis, etc., 15 per cent.; simple nominal clause order pred.-subj.,  $19\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. That is, the inversion of the finite verb with its subject is less than *one-half* as frequent as in Daniel. But an examination of an exilic author practically contemporaneous with the alleged date of Daniel ought to furnish results not less interesting than those obtained from Ecclesiastes. For this purpose the prophecy of Ezekiel was used. Time did not permit the writer to tabulate more than ten chapters, but it is thought that these are sufficient for the basis of a fair induction. The declarative sentence in this material more nearly approaches harmony with the principles which were laid down at the outset. These are the results: Comp. nominal clause, not circumstantial, nor arranged for emphasis, etc.,  $.08\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. simple nominal clause order pred.-subj., 13 per cent. That is, the two abnormal orders are respectively about one-fourth and less than one-half as frequent as in Daniel. We can here trace a development, beginning with Ezekiel, some phases of which are quite definite and which it may be well to note. It is noticeable in the earlier literature that two clauses with verbal predicate following the subject in *both*, are found together, their juxtaposition being explained by desire for contrast between the two subjects. In Arabic where this order occurs, if the clause is not circumstantial, a contrast with another subject is *always* implied. Cf. Quran, II. 221,  $\dots \text{أُولَٰئِكَ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى النَّارِ وَاللّٰهُ يَدْعُو إِلَى الْجَنَّةِ} \dots$ . "These invite to the fire, but God invites to Paradise....;" see also II. 271. This is an invariable and rigid rule in Arabic and also in *earlier* Hebrew, which shows very plainly what was the normal rule. The occurrence of such contrasted clauses is very frequent in Ezekiel, and of this the seventh chapter presents a striking example. It contains no less than fourteen such emphatic inversions, i. e. seven pairs, for example v. 23:  $\text{בִּי-הָאָרֶץ מְלָאָה מִשִּׁשֵּׁט דָּמִים וְהָעִיר מְלָאָה חָמָס}$ . This method of revelling in antithesis seems to be a favorite one with this prophet. But at this time, *emphatic contrast* in thus placing two inverted clauses together is not the invariable significance, for the same device came to be employed in presenting two parallel propositions, especially in the case of comparison. This was sharply to call attention to the two subjects as possessing something common in the respective actions or qualities predicated of them both. Cf. Job 5:7  $\text{כִּי אָדָם כִּי יֵלֶד יִבְרָא וְיִגְדֹּל יִבְרָא}$ . This usage may perhaps explain the later degeneration, for the comparison is not so strongly emphatic as the contrasted



clauses like the example from Ezekiel. In Malachi's three chapters there are four such couplets, yet not entirely *such* as those in Ezekiel. The first (1:4) presents two *strongly* contrasted subjects, but in the second (1:5) the contrast is doubtful. It is rather the presentation of two co-ordinate facts and not for comparison either. The third (2:6) again presents a strong contrast, while the fourth (3:6) seems to offer a new example in which beside the contrast expressed, the first clause presents the *reason* for the second. Ezra contains but *one* example of this usage, i. e., 9:6: **כִּי עֲוֹנֵינוּ רַבּוֹ לַמַּעֲלָה רֹאשׁ וְאַשְׁמֵתֵנוּ נִדְלָה עַד לְשָׁמַיִם**. Here we have two co-ordinate and practically synonymous clauses. There is no contrast here as in the earlier language. But it is in Ecclesiastes that we find this usage reaching its climax; the inverted couplets are very common, sometimes presenting strong contrasts and again the two facts being merely co-ordinate, and seeming to be thus inverted and placed together from the analogy presented in the case of the comparison. For as in the comparison, the two similar facts are graphically put together by bringing into prominence the two subjects, so here the two co-ordinate and perhaps identical truths are presented in the same way, though there is no comparison and not necessarily the slightest emphasis. As an example of emphatic contrast cf. Eccl. 7:26b: **טוֹב לִפְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים יִמְלֹט מִמֶּנֶּה**; and on the other hand for the juxtaposition of two simply co-ordinate statements, without any emphasis because of the inverted order, cf. 10:9: **מִסֵּיעַ אֲכָנִים יַעֲצֵב בָּהֶם בּוֹקֵעַ עֲצִים יִסְכֵּן בָּם**. There has plainly been then a degeneration in the usage and significance of two such inverted contiguous clauses, contrasting very strongly with the earlier rigid use, which was without doubt the original, as presented in the Arabic. In the case of Daniel we find the decay complete. In 11:41 there is possibly an example of this usage, but more probably the latter of the two inverted clauses, is circumstantial. One other only is to be found, 11:26: **וְאַבְלִי פִתְּבֻּ וְיִשְׁבְּרוּהוּ וְחִילוֹ יִשְׁטָף וּנָה**. There is not the slightest emphasis on either of these clauses; the writer seems not to appreciate the force which such an arrangement should imply. Its elder usage is far below the horizon of his knowledge, and the precedence of the subject has little significance to his mind.

Another method of emphasis in the earlier language was the expression of the pronoun as subject, though already implied in the verbal form. If the clause stood alone, unless very strong emphasis was desired, the pronominal subject followed the verb, but if it stood joined to another clause with which contrast was desired *both* subjects preceded, as we have noted was customary in the case just considered. There is a fine example of this in Mal. 1:4: **הִמָּה יִבְנוּ וְאֲנִי אֶהְרֹס, וְנָה**. But as the language developed from its earlier simplicity into a style less severe and more full, the pronoun came to be used in cases where no special emphasis was desired or expressed. This usage finds its greatest development in Ecclesiastes, but it is to be noted that at this period this unemphatic pronoun *always*



follows the verb, e. g., Eccl. 2:1, אֲמַרְתִּי אֲנִי בָלְבִי וְגו', otherwise some emphasis is implied. But in Daniel, not only does the superfluous pronoun frequently occur, but in quite a number of cases it *precedes* the verb. Not less than nine such are to be found, (two of which are periphrastic), e. g., 9:23, בְּתַחֲלֵת תַּחֲנוּנֶיךָ יֵצֵא דָבָר וְאֲנִי בֹאֲתִי לְהַגִּיד. Another example of the same phrase is to be found in 10:12. This construction also occurs in Ezra in six instances and not being found at all in Ecclesiastes, the fact would favor the position of the latter before Ezra, which is given it by Ewald. There is one case in Ecclesiastes where the pronoun does precede, viz., 1:12, וְגו' אֲנִי קֵהֵלֶת הָיִיתִי וְגו' but this is probably designed to make prominent the subject. A similar arrangement is found once in Daniel, 8:27 וְאֲנִי דָגִיל נְהִיִּיתִי וְגו' possibly with the same object.

It is to be noted that the order of words in participial clauses is more regular in the earlier books. The percentage of inverted order, that is predicate-subject, is as follows: Ezekiel, .13 $\frac{2}{3}$ ; Malachi, .10; Ezra, .16 $\frac{2}{3}$ ; Ecclesiastes, .18 $\frac{1}{3}$ ; Daniel, .19.

These clauses have already been included of course under simple nominal sentences. In connection with the participle it is interesting to note that in the material examined the periphrastic construction occurs only in Ezra and Daniel; once in the former, five times in the latter. Of these five in Daniel, the inverted order subject-predicate is found in three.

In conclusion, the material classified presents the following order when arranged according to percentage of irregularity, comprising *all* inversions in the declarative sentence: Ezekiel, .10 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Malachi, .16 $\frac{2}{3}$ ; Ezra, .25; Ecclesiastes, .27 $\frac{1}{3}$ ; Daniel, .30 $\frac{1}{3}$ .

It is not claimed for a moment that this arrangement is definitely chronological, but the great gulf between Ezekiel and Daniel is very significant, and it seems to be true that the intervening books bridge it quite satisfactorily. Neither is this development without parallel; we are presented with an exactly similar phenomenon in the order of the Assyrian sentence. The historical inscriptions show a development, from the rigid observance of the rule for the subsequence of the verb in the time of Tiglath Pileser I. to a freedom so great in the time of Ašurbanipal, that the opposite order predominates.\* That is, a much more extensive change has taken place in the Assyrian than is claimed for the Hebrew during practically the same length of time. In view of this analogy, we cannot but think that the facts presented are some additional indication of the late date of Daniel. They may not be conclusive alone, but in connection with the many other considerations which point the same way, they seem very significant. It seems reasonable to the writer that such an examination of the hexateuchal documents might furnish some interesting indications as well as in other fields and it is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when the historical development of Hebrew syntax shall have been definitely determined and arranged.

\* This fact is obtained from investigations made by Dr. Lester Bradner, Jr., of Yale University, which will appear in the next number of *HEBRAICA*.

## ASSYRIAN ETYMOLOGIES.

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### II. A-ṭap-pu = ṭap-pu = Hebrew מַפְּז, coping.

According to *KB.* II. 136-7, Esarhaddon used for his buildings (iḡ) gušûrî rabûti (iḡ) dim-me ḡîrûti (iḡ) a-ṭap-pi (iḡ) erinu (iḡ) šur-man<sup>1</sup> (I R. 47, 14a) translated by Abel *large beams, high posts, door-posts of cedar- and cypress-wood.*

Harper, *AEI.* p. 14, reads here and Col. VI. 2, a-bi-me, with Norris, *Dictionary*, I. 40, while Strassmaier's reading a-ṭap-pi (*AV.* 2359) is followed by Abel and others. In favor of this reading, it may be stated that the signs tap and pi can very easily run together so closely as to form the signs bi (kas) and me (šip).

Winckler, *Sargon-texte*, pp. 72, 426; 92, 75; 136, 164 (= *KB.* II. 76); 140, 36 and 154, 116, we find promiscuously the reading (iḡ) ṭap-pi and (iḡ) dap-pi, in the glossary only tap-pu = *door-post.*

I read throughout (iḡ) ṭap-pi and connect with it the (iḡ) a-ṭap-pi of Esarh. v. 15 and VI. 2. Tappu, or with prosthetic a a-ṭap-pu, stands for ṭap'u and this for ṭapḥu and is equivalent to the Hebrew מַפְּז (from מַפֵּץ = Arabic مَطْفَح)<sup>2</sup> which in architecture is "the coping" (II Kgs. VII. 9),<sup>3</sup> or the pinnacle-like fence of flat roofs, a roof enclosure, or corbel; this meaning suits the context very well, e. g., Col. VI. 2, the aṭappi, being the copings of the dimme ḡîrûti, are of cedar- and cypress-wood, and are placed upon them as the ku-lul ba-be-ši-in, to complete, or round off the doors. The passages quoted from the *Sargon-texte* conclusively show that a-ṭap-pi is the same as ṭap-pi, for they read, without exception, (iḡ) ṭap-pi kulul babešin emid,

<sup>1</sup> Šurman is the constr. of šur-man-nu; it is a genuine Semitic word, being derived from the verb šaramu, and a form like allānu, etc.; šurmēnu, šur'inu, etc., are byforms.

<sup>2</sup> ṭe-pu-u is mentioned in II R. 39, 63 as a synonym of šalû (שָׁלוּ) and na-pa-gu (to jump?); also see 42, 64; Strassmaier, *Nabonidus*, 499, l. 18, we read ḥu-uḡ-gu ša itti bitî kâri ṭi-pu-u = *the shed which is in connexion with the garret.* (*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. IV, 117sq.; Tallquist, *Die Sprache des Contracts Nabû-nâ'idu*, pp. 74 and 76, translates bit ḥuḡgu by "the addition" (Anbau) and ṭepû by "to spread out.")

<sup>3</sup> All these (great buildings) were of costly stones according to the measures of hewed stones sawed with saws, within and without, even from the foundation unto the coping, and so on the outside toward the great court.

just as Esarh. vi. 2, the only difference being aṭappi in the one and ṭappi in the other cases.<sup>4</sup>

### III. antalû eclipse.

antalû and attalû have usually been considered Akkadian loan words, anta = eliš and lu = katamu to cover, make obscure (cf. *KGF.* 341, rem. 1; *ZK.* i. 259-261; *AV.* 919; *Zb.* 6, rem. 1; also see Jensen's *Kosmologie*, p. 32). It is, however, a Semitic noun derived from natalu, in the meaning of *ἐκλειπναι*. III R. 58 (No. 8) 50 we read a-ta-lu-u (var. to AN-MI) ušetaq; II R. 48, 29 cd we read at-ta-lu-u and *ibid.*, 30-31 an-ta-lu (for lu see *Ht.* 119, 12 and 126, 25; *ZK.* i. 259) = a-da-ru ša Sin and ūmu da'mu (𐎶𐎶𐎵) a dark day; also III R. 70, 50, where u-tu-lu is followed by an-ta-lu = a-da-ru ša Sin and lu = katamu (𐎶𐎶𐎵) and dalaḥu (𐎶𐎶𐎵, II R. 48, 45 cd) whence the Akkadian etymology of antalû; attalû is an eclipse of the moon (according to Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 32, a total eclipse), while ṣalulu is a solar eclipse; cf. *Asrn.* i. 44, *Senn.* i. 6 and II R. 48, 5; 49, 42.

The fact that the Akkadian may have a similar expression for the same phenomenon, cannot militate against a Semitic derivation.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> II R. 21, 14b we read ku-lu [lu] preceded by ka-[lu]-lum and according to Del. *Prof.* 174, rem. 1 = hi-it-ti bābani encasements of the doors (V R. 10, 102); the same word occurs in V R. 23, 93cd as a synonym of napsamu bīt, rein (cf. V R. 47, 40b = maqqaru ša pī sisē) and also on several contract tablets of Cyrus; Tallquist's reading ṣubātu lu-lu = 𐎶𐎶𐎵 (Contracte Nabûnā'idā, p. 88) has to be corrected to ku-lu-lu according to *BAS.* i. 635 ad p. 526. V R. 23, 17 we find ṣubāt ku-lu-li. To the same stem 𐎶𐎶𐎵 belongs kililu the setting (of a gem); a garland, wreath, *Neb.* iii. 68; ix. 17. Pognon, Wadi-Brissa, 76, rem. 1, compares Arabic 𐎶𐎶𐎵; Del. *Gram.* § 63; kililiš like a wreath, *Esarh.* vi. 5; Harper, *AEI.* Speaking of Delitzsch's Grammar, I should like to point out some errors made by the translator, Prof. Kennedy. § 65, 35 adannu is translated: tent (= Zeit), but correct it to time (= Zeit); § 39 Šiptu is incantation (Beschwörung) not conspiracy (Verschwörung); i-qi-pa-an-ni (*Neb.* i. 42) is = he ordered me (er gab mir auf) not he gave me up (er gab mich auf), as we find on p. 137, addenda; also see p. 206 ad IV R. 65, 4 and several other passages.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e. g. šangû priest = Akkadian sanga, from the Semitic verb nagû 𐎶𐎶𐎵 to be bright, pure, thus originally = purifier, enlightener, cf. 𐎶𐎶𐎵 Psalm XVIII. 29 (*BAS.* i. 160, rem. 2); while *BOR.* iii. 120 explains it as "one bound by a vow"; *Sn.* 148 nauga from nagû district; just as balaga from balaku; ša-ki-ir-ru a drinking-cessel, from šakaru (𐎶𐎶𐎵) Akkadian šakir II R. 22, 28 de; *Ht.* ii. 81; illatu power, force, Akkadian el-lat from alalu to be strong; also see *BAS.* i. 103, 11. In all these cases Akkadian has undoubtedly borrowed from the Assyrian, i. e. the Assyrian scribes, compiling syllabaries, etc., disfigured and mutilated Assyrian words so as to make them appear like Akkadian; to this category belongs a number of readings in *SA.*, *SB.* and *SC.*, e. g. *Sn.* 1, 2 and 4; 49, 63, 73, 79 and 80, 80, 116, 118, 123 sa-xar = ep-ru; 130, 132, 134, 139, 141, 146 u-sar = še-it-tum from eserū; 157, 158 si-gi-še = ni-qu-u from šaqašu to slaughter; 169 and 170; 173-181; 188; 190 u-nu = šub-tu (cf. ūnu and ūnūtu); 193 (cf. *ZA.* iv. 63, No. 21), 212 (cf. *HEBRAICA.* VII, 89, rem. 17), 215 and 216, 225, 235, 237, 241-3; 247-8; 257, 260, 261, 269, 278, 280, 282, 290-1, 296, 302, 304, 307, 311; 313 ka-ra from kara-ru to surround; 349; 354sq., 378 and many others. It is also strange that the name of the moon-god Sin should be derived from the Akkadian zu-en = enzu Lord of wisdom = bēl nēmēqī, which latter is the title of Ea, not of Sin. Si-in occurs IV R. 66, 9b; *ZK.* i. 271; *ZA.* i. 227, note g. Could this be the later Assyrian form of the earlier AN Ši-nu-um, read by M. Jules Oppert on a tablet in 1855 (see *GGA.* '78, 1032) and derived from 𐎶𐎶𐎵 to change?

IV. Tamkaru and Timkallu.

Dam-ka-ru, *servant, field laborer*, is usually derived from the Akkadian DAM-KAR; Ht. 35, 838, Del. *Lesest.*<sup>3</sup> 22, 182; DAM being explained as an Akkadian prefix having the force of the Arabic Zaid and KAR = ab-bu-ut-tu (Ht. 60, Col. IV. 4, 24, 501) *fetter* (?); Haupt, *SFG.* 35-6; etc.<sup>6</sup> The variant tam-ka-ru,<sup>7</sup> occurring in several passages, shows that the 𐎶 is due to partial assimilation of 𐎶 to the following 𐎶; thus read tamkaru and derive it from makaru to *buy* and to *sell* (Hebr. מכר to *sell*); the tam-ka-ru was properly "the bought slave."<sup>8</sup>

Another word of Semitic origin is timkallu or timkallû *architect, artist*; Senn. vi. 45 ekallu ša elî maḥriti ma'diṣ šûturat rabâta u naklat ina šipir (ameluti) tim-kal-li-e enquti ana mûṣab belûtiia uṣepiṣ; this passage supports my etymology from nakalu נכל to be skillful; timkallu stands for tinkallu and is a form like tiqmaru, tisqaru, etc.

V. ŠE-BAR and ŠE-ZIR.

Are usually considered Akkadian ideograms. This would imply that ŠE itself is an ideogram. Granting this, it does not follow by any means that the expressions are of Akkadian origin as is usually supposed. Šeum is to be connected with שׁעׁם to which belongs Mishnic שׁעׁמִיָּה (J. Halévy, *ZA.* iv. 58); the Meš in še-im-Meš Tig. Pil. vi. 103 merely indicates the quantity; in II R. 44, 66 ab we find the feminine form še-a-tum = še-Bar, *corn*; and Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 372, reads Del. *Lesest.* p. 101, Frg. b, l. 7, šeatka for še-BAR-ka. The ideogram ŠE = še-um *corn* (e. g. Ht. 26, 556) is the abbreviated construct state of the Assyrian še-um, while *ibid.* No. 557 še = magari is abbreviated from šemû, to *hear, listen*, a synonym of magari. še-BAR is a compound of this še + BAR from barû<sup>9</sup> to *become full, satisfied, to eat*, a synonym of li-e-mu (לחם) and še-bu-u (II R. 24, 53 ab, sqq.). še-BAR could there-

<sup>6</sup> II R. 31, 72 we have an officer of "tam-gar" perhaps = *overseer of the slaves*; II R. 7, 34; V R. 39, 38-39 gh we read i-bi-ra = dam-ka-ru and dam-qar = damkaru, preceded by ma-ag-ri-tu on which see Zb. 43, rem. 2; BAS. i. 14, rem. 6; Jensen, *Kosmol.* 123, rem. 1, and ZDMG. 43, 193. On i-bi-ra see HEBRAICA, VII., 82, rem. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Ht. 69, 8 AZAG DAM-GAR-RA = ka-sap tam-ka-ri.

<sup>8</sup> V R. 15, 22 gh has nothing to do with tamkaru; we read here SAP-GAL = dam-ga-ru (for tam-ga-ru) *tub, barrel*, a synonym of naṣpaku II R. 22, 19 d; BAS. i. 177 and 635 SAP is from the Semitic šap-pu Sb. 218 = a *fug* from a root שׁפׁ according to BAS. i. 538; while Tallquist, p. 112, reads sappu = Hebrew שׁפׁ.

<sup>9</sup> From the same barû I derive ta-bar-ru in such expressions as qubât ta-bar-ra, etc., literally = *gesättigt* (i. e. dyed, said of wools and clothings). V R. 61, 47 e we read qubât ta-bar-ru followed by qubât takiltu (תכלת); this takiltu violet purple is, by no means, to be confounded with takiltu = *omen*, as Winckler does in *KB.* II. 142-3 ad Col. I. 8. Could Greek σῖρος, pl. σῖρα, *corn*, which has no Indo-germanic etymon, have any connexion with this še-um, še-a-tum?

fore be = šeum ana bâri *corn for food = cereals*; še-BAR being equivalent to še-a-tum; ŠE-BAR-su can be read še-at-su, but še-BAR-šu is to be read še-bar-šu. Like še-BAR I explain še-ZIR as a compound of še + zir from zêru *seed*; thus = *corn for seeding purposes*. Nabonidus, 445, ŠE-BAR ana ŠE-ZIR would be corn which was to be used for food is now used for seeding purposes. Zehnpfund, *BAS.* I. 515, still considers both expressions as Akkadian ideograms.\*

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\* The next number of *HEBRAICA* will contain etymologies, among others, of šûtu, *south-wind*, pagitu and pagûtu, ta-a-an the complement after cardinal numerals and GAB-RI = mahîru.

## A PHOENICIAN SEAL.

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The material of this seal\* is a dark agate of quite ordinary quality, interspersed with streaks and spots of bright jasper on the under side. In contradistinction to the ordinary character of the material, which, with cornelian, is the most common substance of Phoenician seals, the design and inscription on it are unusually interesting and so far as can be ascertained unique.

The stone is pierced at the oblong ends, no doubt for being set in a circular clasp, such as is figured in Perrot and Chipiez's *History of Art in Phoenicia*, I., p. 241. This clasp was in turn surmounted by a ring through which the cord was passed that, permitted the seal to be worn around the neck.† The shape of the seal with its convex surface and flat bottom recalls the Egyptian scarab while the fact that, as is the case with so many of the Phoenician seals, nothing more than the general outlines of the beetle have been copied with no attempt at detail, also proves that for the artist the 'scarab' shape did not have the sacred importance which a pious Egyptian would attach to it.‡ The conclusion that may thus be drawn from a consideration of the shape as revealing to a certain extent Egyptian influence, without an adherence to Egyptian ideas, accords with the character of the design on the seal. The figure is clearly that of a demon whose attitude, as well as the instrument he holds in his left hand, suggests a contest in which he is engaged. Apart from the crescent and star above the head which are so distinctly Babylonian, the wings, claws and tail also point to southern Mesopotamia as the source of the design. Nor need we seek long for a satisfactory explanation of the figure. The fight between a monster and a deity, based presumably upon the tale of the dragon Tiamat and the god Marduk, occurs as a quite frequent representation on Babylonian seals, both of ancient and more modern make, but the

\* The property of Mayer Sulzberger, Esq., of Philadelphia, by whom it was kindly placed at my disposal. The reproduction on a somewhat larger scale than the original is by the Levy-type process of Philadelphia.

† This method of attaching the seal is interesting as forming the link which leads from the seal cylinder suspended around the neck to the seal ring. It would appear that the Phoenicians were not only the first, as Perrot and Chipiez, *ib.* p. 259, suggest, to fix seals in rings but through them, if not directly, then indirectly, the next step was taken of wearing the seal on the finger. The natural evolution in the shape of the seal corresponding to this change in the fashion of wearing it, may be represented by the following scale—long cylinder, cone, scarab-eoids, gradually toned down till the more or less flat surface, in circular or square form is reached.

‡ See Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia*, I., 239.



variations in which this design is met with are numerous. This monster sometimes appears with the head of a bull or a unicorn, again of a lion, and again apparently of a bird; now with wings and sometimes without wings, with an instrument in his hand and without one,\* etc. Another and more important variation occurs when instead of against one monster, we find the deity fighting two monsters, one on either side, and corresponding to this enlargement of the "motif," we find a curtailing of it on other seals by a representation of the monster alone. This curtailing of a design is particularly common on seals of "Phoenician" manufacture superinduced no doubt by the smaller size of their seals as compared with those of the Babylonians, but it is to be noticed that it also occurs on seals of unquestioned Babylonian origin. So for example, the scene so common in seals of the worship of a deity, is curtailed by a representation of two persons instead of three or of the deity alone without the worshipers or of the worshiper alone, and again where we find on seals the crescent and star (or stars) alone or the tree, column, altar or the like without any accompaniment, we are justified in connecting these symbols with the worship "motif," and as originally forming part of a more complete scene.† Coming back to our seal, the attitude of the demon it seems to me, receives its explanation only if we suppose some figure before him against whom the attack is directed and I have, therefore, no hesitation in connecting the figure in some way with one of the Babylonian dragons and curtailed from some more complete scene. But the figure, while thus traceable to Babylonian models, cannot be called entirely Babylonian. There are at least, two details which may be set down as revealing Egyptian influence, viz., the head and the dress. In all the representations on distinctively Babylonian or Assyrian cylinders or on other works of Babylonian art, one finds no head like the one we have here, whereas the wolf-like features do most strongly suggest the Egyptian deity "Anubis." True, the snout on the Egyptian representations of the god is usually somewhat longer and sharper, but such a deviation is exactly one for which we ought to be prepared in a design based upon a mixture of Babylonian and Egyptian figures and in which through the preponderance of the Babylonian elements, we are not justified in looking for more than *traces* of Egyptian influence. Again, the dress of the demon is peculiar. As a general thing the Babylonian-Assyrian demons are naked; and moreover the ordinary garment on Babylonian seals is the loosely hanging one which permits the leg to be easily uncovered or the "hoop-skirt." An approach to our tight-fitting tunic may be recognized in the demons from a slab in Ašurbanipal's palace,‡ but the late

\* See Menant-Le Clercq *Collection Le Clercq, Cat.-Rats.*, etc., Pl. xxxi., Pl. xxxiii.; also Nos. 823b<sup>4</sup>. No. 150 is a curious combination of two bulls and two lions against a deity. Menant-Le Clercq fail to distinguish between representations of animal sacrifice and what are distinctly contests between deities and monsters.

† Numerous examples in Menant-Le Clercq, *ib.* Nos. 245, 255, 259-261 Pl. xx. etc. See also Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Chaldaea*, I. p. 74.

‡ Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Chaldaea*, I., p. 61.

period of this monument together with other indications warrant the suspicion of foreign influence. In Egypt, however, the tight-fitting short tunic is the common one and on an Egypto-Phoenician seal,\* containing several distinct "Anubis" figures we have almost the exact counterpart of the dress on our seal. We conclude then that the design shows that peculiar mixture of Babylonian and Egyptian element which has been ascertained to be the characteristic of Phoenician art in general, corresponding to the general eclecticism prevailing in the religious ideas and customs of the Phoenicians. Before proceeding to the inscription which further fixes the seal as distinctly "Phoenician," the question may be raised whether there are any indications in the design that justify conclusions as to its date. To this I venture to reply that the wings argue in favor of a late period. In the first place although distinctly Babylonian in shape, their large size in proportion to the stature of the animal shows a pronounced departure from early and even late Babylonian models. They are certainly not Egyptian, and approach the variation found in monuments of the Persian period. As a further indication of an influence that is neither Egyptian nor Babylonian, attention might be directed to the manner in which the wings are attached to the demons. They do not appear to be growths on the figure as is always the case in Babylono-Assyrian as well as Egyptian deities and monsters, but fastened to the animal by means of the belt around the waist, a feature which suggests the artificial attachment of wings in Greek art, as in the case of Hermes. At all events and be this as it may, the departure from Babylonian and Egyptian ideas on the seal is sufficiently pronounced to make a very late date preferable to an early one, and furthermore to suggest a place of manufacture for the seal removed from Egyptian or Babylonian centres of art. The inscription points in the same direction. It consists of two parts one to each side of the figure, the letters appearing reversed. Beginning with the side behind the figure, I read as follows:

### לארנלח עברעמנרב

The characters are clearly cut and but for the curious form of one of them, might belong to a very early period. This one is the Hêth which here has a somewhat unusual shape. The cross line at the top, it ought to be added, turns out upon microscopic examination to be due to a dent in the stone, so that the latter comes quite near the form it has in late Phoenician seals and in monuments, more particularly those of western origin.

Regarding the juxtaposition of the two names, one might be tempted to suppose the first to be a title but for the fact that titles in Phoenician monuments, as among Semites in general, are invariably placed after the name of the persons

\* Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Phœnicia*, I., p. 255, fig. 192. See also the Egypto-Assyrian seals in Menant-Le Clercq, Nos. 386-89; and (Pl. xxxviii.) 386 bis and 386 ter.

to whom they belong.\* Again it hardly seems reasonable to take עֶבֶר as "servant" literally, as some scholars in such cases are inclined to do. While no doubt the origin of proper names containing the element עֶבֶר followed by the name of some deity is due to a supposed actual relation of master and servant between a worshipper and his god, still the consciousness of this meaning attaching to the word must have died out when proper names from being invocations pronounced over a person and attached to him as a kind of talismanic formula grew to be simple appellations. Corresponding with this growth, the name of the deity following upon 'abā came to be chosen quite promiscuously and with no defined religious aim. It will therefore be most satisfactory to assume with Levy (*Phoenizische Studien*, IV., p. 72), whom Euting (*Punische Steine*, p. 11) is inclined to follow, that the word for son בֶּן has been left out. This omission is very common on Palmyrene monuments (e. g. Sachau, *ZDMG.*, 1881, p. 424, and see Levy and Euting as above), and has with a great show of probability been traced to Greek influence—a supposition that, it will be seen, strengthens the general indications above referred to in favor of a late date for the seal. Taking the Lāmēdh at the beginning as the ordinary sign of possession the inscription is to be rendered thus:

[seal of] Adōngallaḥ (son of) 'Abdamōnrab.



Both names are new and extremely interesting. The first is compounded of two elements, the well-known Adōn and a stem גלח that has not as yet been met with on Phoenician inscriptions. Adōn appears as a general thing in Phoenician proper names combined with some other deity. Thus we have ארנבעל ארנשמש אשמנארן, ארנבל. But these names are not to be placed in the same category with such combinations as מלקרת-אשמן אל-חמן

\* Only in the case of deities we find such descriptive epithets as לבעל לאדני placed before the name itself, though occasionally also after the name (e. g. *Corpus Inscr. Sem.*, I., p. 24sq.).

הדר-רמון where the idea conveyed is of the amalgamation of two deities, nor are they parallel with combinations of בעל, as בפנבעל בעללכנן, בעלשמש, where a particular manifestation of Baal is indicated, but the common use of Adôn as a mere epithet of deity (לארני לאשמן לארן), and also of persons (ארנמלכם and ארמלכם Levy, *Phoenizische Studien*, III., p. 34 sqq.; IV., p. 7), as also its use in such names as ארניבוק (see Schroeder *Phoeniz. Spr.*, pp. 9 and 178), shows that the word from designating originally a specific deity has advanced even beyond the stage of a generic term for "deity" like the Babylonian *ilu* to a term for "lord," or "master," being used precisely like the Hebrew equivalent, as Muenther, *Religion d. Karthager*, p. 25,\* already recognized. Accordingly Adôn bēl and Eshmunadôn are to be rendered simply, "the lord Bel" and "Eshmun is master," and applying this conclusion to the name on our seal, it will be seen that we are not justified in taking גלח as a verb, of which Adôn as a deity is the subject, but on the contrary if there is a divine element in the name it must be sought in the second part. The question now arises, what is גלח? There is no trace of a god *galaḥ* or *gallaḥ* among any of the Semites and the meaning of the stem which, from its occurrence in Hebrew, Arabic and several of the Aramaic languages, is very well known, makes it improbable that it should have ever been the name of a deity. With a primitive meaning like "scrape" or the like, we find the stem used in all the three groups mentioned for "shaving," more particularly the hair of the head, but in Hebrew at least, also of the face and other parts of the body. In Arabic, where the stem has a wider usage, it obtains the force also of plucking, rendering bald or bare (see Lane's *Arabic Dictionary*, s. v.) and allied meanings, while in Syriac the metaphorical application to "revealing, exposing" and then "expanding" appears to prevail. The Old Testament usage of the stem is particularly instructive, and the close relationship existing between Phoenician and Hebrew warrants us in starting from the latter for an explanation of the name under consideration. Almost all the passages in which the word occurs have a bearing on the religious significance which in the primitive Semitic ritual was attached to the cutting off of the hair. Both in the reference to the leper (Lev. 13:33; 14:8,9), and to the nazîr (Num. 6:9,18) גלח is used of the ordained shaving off of the hair, in the case of the former of the whole body, in the latter of the head, and since under the aspect of *taboo* both leper and nazîr were "sacred" there can be no doubt of the sacrificial purpose which the ceremony originally served.† Again in the case of the woman captured in war (Deut. 21:12), we have the *galaḥ* ceremony (for the head alone), which

\* An approach to the use of בעל like ארן appears in such a phrase as למקרת בעל צר i. e. to Melkart, the master of Tyre (Gesenius, *Script. Ling. Phoen.*, p. 96).

† See the admirable discussion of "Hair-offerings" and Hair-rituals among the Semites in W. R. Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 308-16, where also references to the copious literature on the subject will be found.

here appears to be a rite of initiation into the tribe of the captor;\* thirdly there is the prohibition against shaving of the head and beard as a rite of initiation in the case of priests, recorded in Lev. 21:5 and Ezek. 44:20, and finally we have the valuable testimony of Jer. 41:5 to the actual religious practice, and the words of Isa. 7:20, "ביום ההוא יגלח ארני תער השכירה וג'", which, as the reference at the end of the verse to the head, limbs and "also beard" suggest, receive additional force by being brought into connection with some galaḥ-ritual.

Now there is abundant evidence that at all times the shaving of the head was observed as a rite among the Phoenician priests† and wherever Phoenician worship spread, as for example in the rites of the Phrygian Cybele,‡ the galaḥ-ceremony is found. According to Lucian indeed (*De Dea Syria*, § 55) the rite was practised by all persons at Hierapolis, where, as a preliminary to citizenship, they had to "shave their head and eyebrows."§ However this may be, we have now also the direct testimony of the inscriptions to the religious significance of the tonsure among the Phoenicians. On a Phoenician monument found near Larnaka (*Corpus Inscr. Sem.*, I., p. 92sq.) there is a mention among those entitled to the temple revenues (*Facies A*, l. 12), לוגלם פעלם על מלאכת, which Renan renders *tonsoribus operantibus pro ministerio*. However the difficult word קפא following upon מלאכת is to be understood, there is no doubt, as Renan suggests in his note to the passage (*ibid.*, p. 95), that the reference is to the barbers attached to the temple, for the purpose of performing the tonsure on the priests. The further proof for the sacredness of this office is furnished by the title גלח אלם "barber of the gods," i. e., "sacred barber," given to individuals on two Phoenician inscriptions (*Sainte Marie*, 1784 and 2110, cf. *CIS.*, I., p. 71).

\* In addition to the shaving of the head, there is also ordered the cutting of the nails. With this rite may be compared the injunction in the so-called "Sumerian family-laws" (V R. 25, 31 Haupt's *SFG.*, p. 34) to cut off the nails in the case of the son who severs the legal status existing between himself and his father, and in the case of the same severance between son and mother, the cutting off—in both cases the verb *gallābu* is used—of the *muttatu*, which I cannot help thinking, despite Haupt's suggestive remarks, *Beitr. z. Assyriol.*, I., pp. 15, 16, must refer to hairs (perhaps to beard as sign of manhood or the hairs *circa membrum virile*). It seems to me that here too the rite symbolized originally the formal exit from one tribe or family and admittance into another. The transition from this view to the observance of the custom as a mark of subjection and then sign of disgrace, which appears already to prevail at the time of the "Sumerian" laws, is a natural one, when once the ideas underlying the rite are lost sight of or outgrown.

† See Mover's *Phoenizien*, I., 572-87, on the priesthood among the Phoenicians.

‡ The connection between the Phrygian and Phoenician rites is now universally admitted. See Ramsay in the *Encyclop. Brit.* article (9th ed., Vol. XVIII., p. 853a). Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie d. Alten Voelker*, II., 389, already established the practical identity of the Cybele and Ashtarte rites, and he is followed by Boettger, *Ideen zur Kunst-Mythologie*, I., p. 231.

§ It is in this sense I think that the passage is to be interpreted, for when Lucian says "every one who entered the city," he can certainly mean only those who came for the purpose of settling there. Whether Lucian is altogether exact in stating that the priestly tonsure was universal is another matter. One is inclined to suspect that the "shaving of the hair" refers merely to the custom, referred to in Lev. 19:27, of cutting off the hair and beard, which is something different from the galaḥ-ceremony.



Coming back now to our name *Adōngallāḥ*, it will readily be admitted that there is everything in favor of assuming a meaning for the stem *גלח*, similar to that which it obtains in Hebrew and that further this second element in the name stands in some connection with the religious tonsure. We may advance a step further and venture to assign a specific meaning to this second element. If *גלח*, which, as referring to a profession, is probably to be read *gallab* (cf. Schroeder, *Phoeniz. Sprache*, p. 167), is the barber, *gallāḥ* as the "shaven" or "shorn one"\* would appear to be an appropriate name for the initiated one or more specifically for the priest. Is there any evidence in favor of this assumption? Now it is significant that this very word *גלח* in late Hebrew has become the common expression for "priest." The general supposition has been that it was first applied to Christian monks as a nickname because of the tonsure, which it is interesting to recall, was also prescribed by the Catholic Church as a preliminary to initiation into clerical orders. It occurs in Tisbi's *Hebrew Dictionary*. Buxtorf (*Lexicon Chald.* s. v.) also notes the word, and while I am unable to trace its use beyond the appearance of Christianity, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that as so many words current in "modern" Hebrew, it is very old. From the Hebrew it appears to have made its way into Arabic. In what is known as the Mauritanian-Arabic version of the Pentateuch (published by Th. Erpenius, Leyden, 1622) the word *כהן*, Gen. 47:22, is translated *جلاح*† and its occurrence here would go to show that the term designation in Phoenician for "priest" by the side of *כהן*, which occurs rather frequently, as also does the fem. *כהנת* once (Eshmunazar Inscript. 15), and like the Hebrew equivalent suggested by the *tonsure* which distinguished the Phoenician priests. In further support of this proposition I would call attention to a was not necessarily a nickname and that it was not restricted in its application to Christian monks.‡ My proposition then is to take *גלח* in our name as an actual

\* So I propose to read, since the *kaṭṭāl* form of the Semitic noun indicates both a profession and a habitual condition. See Stade, *Hebr. Gram.*, §217a; Caspari, *Arab. Gram.*, 5th ed., §24. Compare with *גלח* "one who has been shorn," Arabic *عطار* "one who has been perfumed," but also used of the "perfumer."

† See Castellus, *Lex. Heptaglotton*, s. v., *גלח*, where the word is also applied to a "celibate"; also Gollus, *Lex. Arab.*, s. v., and (following Gollus) Freytag, *Lex. Arab.-Lat.* s. v. The native Arabic lexicographers do not record the word, nor does Gawālikī mention it.

‡ *جلاح* occurs also as a proper name in Arabic, e. g., *احيعة ابن جلاح* (*Kitāb al-Fihrist* ed. Flügel, p. 202, 23; Ibn Khallican, *Biogr. Dict.* (Slane), I, p. 84, who, being expressly mentioned as an *anṣārī*, may fairly be considered to have born a genuine Arabic name. There are also names of places formed of the stem *גלח*, so e. g. *جلم* and *الجلعاء* (Jacut ed. Wüstenfeld, II., p. 28), and *Talmud Babī Nidd.*, 69a, makes mention of a place *גלח* in Sodom.



curious and interesting term which has hitherto been involved in considerable obscurity.

Roman writers make frequent mention of the Phrygian worship which was introduced into Rome at the time of the second Punic war.\* The deity around which the worship that appeared so strange to the Romans centered, was Cybele, the *mater magna*, and the officiating priests are invariably termed by the Romans, *galli*. Now the close connection between Phrygian and Phœnician rites (as intimated above) is placed beyond all doubts by the testimony of Lucian who applies the very same term γάλλος (*De Dea Syria*, §§ 5, 15, 55) to the Syrian priests.† The etymology currently adopted by Roman and Greek writers (e. g. *Festus De Verb. Signif. Ovid Festi* IV. 363, *Pliny Hist. Nat.* V., § 147, *Suidas Lexicon*, s. v., etc.) and that is still followed in modern works (so in the new edition of *Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*) derives the word from a river Gallus in Phrygia (a tributary of the Sangarius) the waters of which were thought to have the power of making those who drank of them mad, and the name was accordingly applied to the priests of Cybele because of the fury they exhibited in the performance of the religious rites. The lameness of such an etymological *tour de force* needs no comment. Hieronymos followed by others tried to connect the word with the Gauls but naturally without success. Creuzer, *Symbolik and Mythol.*, II., 370, thinks it is a "Bithynian" word. Boettger, *Ideen zur Kunst Mythol.*, I., 280, explains it as "wanderer," but upon what grounds I do not know. Movers (*Phonizier*, I., 687) is the first of modern writers to properly seek for a Semitic origin of a word that belongs to a worship so distinctly Semitic, but the etymology he proposes, from גלל "to turn," in allusion to the dances of the Phœnician and Phrygian priests has no warrant and can hardly be called happy. Sayce, who in a note in his *Hibbert Lectures* (p. 62), and without offering the slightest proof connects the word with the Assyrian *kalu* (an epithet of the priests) needs only a passing mention. Strangely enough, Alexander Polyhistor (Mueller, *Fragm. Histor. Graec.*, III., p. 202) preserves a tradition (adopted literally by Stoll in Roscher's *Mythol. Lexicon*) which ought to have put investigators on the right path. He says that the name was due to a person named *Gallus* who was the first priest of Cybele and that so far as the river is concerned it was so called after the priests and not *vice versa*. What more natural and more common than that a foreign term should become in tradition a proper name? Leaving aside the question of the river altogether, which may be a mere coincidence, the notice in Alexander Polyhistor, points directly to *gallus* as a term for

\* It is well to take note of this period assigned for the introduction. The story in *Livy* xxix. 10, when stripped of its principal features clearly points to Phœnician influence as the immediate cause for the spread of Cybele worship in Rome, so that the connection in which the Cybele worship is brought with the Punic wars is only another induction of the identity of Phrygian and Phœnician rites.

† See also Scholz, *Goetzendienst und Zaubereien bei den Hebræern*, p. 323.

priest and taking the evidence above brought forward together, it seems to me that *gallus* is none other than our Hebrew and Phoenician גלל. As for the loss of the final guttural, it is to be noticed that we have here the soft so-called unpointed ח which already in Assyrian has disappeared and whose loss in the Romanized and Greek form of a foreign word would only serve to confirm for the Phoenician the common tendency of the Semitic languages to the aspiration of the gutturals\* and even the hard ones. So *Plautus Poen.* VI., 16, writes *lia* = ליה and *ib.* V. 1,3 vi = אחי. Other instances in Phoenician of this tendency are עמן—very common—המן—neo-punic—and even אמן (Levy, *Phoenizische Stud.*, IV., p. 82) for חמן; עמש “five” for חמש (Levy, *Phoeniz. Woerterb.* S. V.).† Finally, before proceeding to the second name, a word about the force of an *adôn* in combination with *gallah*. With a precedent like עבראלם (*CIS.*, I., p. 30; Levy, *Phoeniz. Stud.*, II., 32) “divine servant,” which must originally have designated some sacred office like עברעלינים, (Gesenius, *Mon. Scrip. Phoen.*, p. 13), becoming a proper name, there is sufficient justification in accounting for our name in the same way. *Adôngallah*, then, I take it is nothing else than the “chief *gallah*,” the כהן גדול of the Phoenician worship and but for its position before *Abdamonrab*, it might very well be the title of the later, particularly in view of the express mention of an *Archigallus* by Roman writers, *Plin.*, *Hist. Nat.* 35, 10; *Tertull. Apol.* 25; *Servius Ad Aen.* XII. 116 at the head of the *Cybele* worship, of which term *Adôngallah* it will be seen is the exact equivalent. As it is, it will be safer to assume that *Adôngallah* like עבראלם has passed into a proper name and is so used in the present instance.

Coming now to the second name, the three elements of which it is combined עבר, עמן, and רכ are perfectly well-known but the combination is new. The first part is of course the well-known word which with בעל occurs oftenest in the formation of Phoenician names. The combination עברעמן is identical with עבראמן (Levy, *Phoeniz. Stud.*, IV., p. 72), is moreover vouched for by the Tyrian Ἀβδάμων mentioned by *Josephus* (*Contra App.* I., 18) and parallel to בעל עמן (Levy, *Phoeniz. Stud.*, IV., 73).‡ It has been customary hitherto to take עמן in all instances as another form for חמן. (Cf. e. g., Levy, *Phoeniz. Stud.*, II., p. 119; *Schroder, Phoeniz. Sprache*, pp. 81, 125). In such combinations as בעל עמן, I believe this to be the case, but the question may be raised whether in combination with עבר, the element עמן (and אמי) may

See *Renan, Hist. Gen. d. Langues Semit.* 5th ed., p. 427.

\* This process has proceeded furthest in the case of the Samaritan where all distinctions between gutturals are lost sight of and even the hard ones are aspirated. The Assyrian retaining only the pointed ח follows next. See a paper by the writer on Assyrian and Samaritan, *Proc. A. O. S.*, October, 1886, p. cvlix.

† See *Schroeder's Phoeniz. Sprache*, pp. 79-98, exhaustive treatment of the gutturals in Phoenician.

‡ Comp. also מילכעמי and עבוועמן Levy, *Phoeniz. Woerth.*

not be the Egyptian deity Amon? With P'thah, Horus, Osiris, Athor and Necho so frequent in Phoenician names, in accord with the amalgamation of Egyptian and Phoenician beliefs, there is every reason why we should also look for Amon. Moreover, there is one instance in which there can be no doubt that we have the Egyptian Amon in a proper name and that is the **אמנוכא** occurring on a seal published by Gesenius (*Mon. Scrip. Phoen.* tab. 28, No. lxxvii.) and correctly explained by Levy (*ZDMG.* XI, p. 71) as Amon-Necho. 'Aḏd in proper names as a general thing, though not invariably, is followed by the name of a deity, and unless we are ready to accept the proposition that there was a Phoenician deity **חמן** for which the evidence does yet appear to be sufficient, it would seem but reasonable to admit the possibility of the god Amōn being contained in **עברעמן**? The possibility also remains of an actual confusion between the Phoenician and Egyptian term,† just as there appears to be a confusion between Egyptian Osiris, written **אסר** as an element in Phoenician names and the Assyrian Ashur, also written **אסר** (**אסררחם**) *CIS.* II., p. 50, **אסרסרער**, p. 54), and *CIS.* II., p. 56, between *Athar* and the Egyptian *Athor* or *Hathor*. There is also a Punic mountain chain bearing the name Amon-Baal-Ithon mentioned by Strabo, *Geogr.* XVII., 13, and where it would also appear that the Egyptian deity is meant. What adds to the probability of **עמן** in our case being the Egyptian Amon is the unique addition of **רב**. The occurrence of this element in Semitic names in general is rather rare‡ and I find only one doubtful instance of its being attached to a Phoenician deity, namely, **מעקר רב** (Gesenius, *Mon. Scrip. Phoen.*, p. 217) and which Gesenius thinks stands for **מלקרתר**. The prominent rank held by Melkarth would render the combination intelligible, but that would hardly be the case if our **עמן** were the equivalent of **חמן** which even, if originally a deity, at an early period lost its distinctive character as such. "The servant of great Amon," however, strikes one at once as far more plausible. At the same time one is strongly tempted to suspect that some confusion—possibly a species of "popular etymology"—with the well-known Amon-Ra of the Egyptians has taken place in the case of the name on our seal. I have no evidence to offer by way of support for this conjecture which is thrown out merely in the nature of a suggestion that may bear examination. So far, however, as the occurrence of an Egyptian deity in our seal is con-

\* See the note in Gesenius, *Handw.* 10th ed., p. xxii. Regarding **חמן** it ought to be said that whether a deity or not, the final nōn is probably nothing but the tenwin and the question suggests itself whether we have not the same word in the Himyaritic proper name **חמקרת** (*CIS.*, IV., p. 31, 33 and 53), and also in the Babylonian King Hammurabi, rejecting the etymology for the name offered by the Babylonians themselves (II<sup>d</sup> Rawl. 44, I., 21) as "great family," which is hardly an appropriate designation for an individual.

† Hamaker, *Miscell. Phoen.* (1828), pp. 49 and 57, appears to suspect some connection between **חמן** and Egyptian Amon.

‡ Cf. Hammurabi in Babylonian, **רב** in Himyaritic (*CIS.* IV., pp. 27 and 101); and *Eating Nab.* *Inscr.* 21, 3; 27, 14; 28, 3; Rib-addi (*ZA.* IV., pp. 403).

cerned, it will be seen that it accords perfectly with the indications of Egyptian influence that were found in the shape and design of the seal and perhaps it will be admitted that the unusual character of the first name renders the proposition of explaining the second as "Servant of Amon-Ra" less bold and startling than it might otherwise be. The traces of Egyptian influence are together perhaps strong enough to warrant us in classing the seal among those known as Egypto-Phoenician,\* though there is no need of insisting upon this. If a date were to be assigned to the seal, I should feel inclined to say, not earlier than the fifth century B. C.

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\* Menant *Le Clercq Catalogue Raisonné*, etc., p. 28.

## AN ARABIC VERSION OF THE ABGAR-LEGEND.

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It is not my intention to discuss here the interesting legend which is connected with the early history of Edessa as a christian city. That has lately been done with much learning and care.<sup>1</sup> I wish only to call attention to the following Arabic version which, I believe, has not been known heretofore—and to point out with what lines in the development of the legend it runs parallel.

Tixeront has collected (*loc. cit.* p. 28) the titles of four Arabic MSS. of the Abgar legend. The vatican text he has himself published at the end of the volume. With this our MS. has many points in common: but it is easy to see that it is greatly amplified. The one published by Ludovicus de Dieu<sup>2</sup> is not accessible to me at present.

A glance is enough to show us that the chief interest of the writer lies in the legend regarding the image of Jesus, rather than in that of the letters between him and Abgar. It belongs, therefore, to the Byzantine line of development. It is not necessary to adduce proof for this statement. We can go one step further, and can fix upon the Greek MS. which evidently lies back of our Arabic text.

There is a MS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna (*cod. theol. graec.* 315) which has been described by Lambecius, and of which Lipsius has given some extracts.<sup>3</sup> The scope of both texts is the same: the letters of Abgar and Jesus; the story of the picture put on the handkerchief; the second image made on a brick at Heliopolis; the healing of the lame man; the healing of Abgar himself; the mission of Thaddaeus and the baptism of Abgar. Some of the characteristic additions in *cod.* 315 to the account in Eusebius are found again here: e. g., καὶ γυναῖκα ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος ἀψαμένην σου ἰδῶ = وامرأة نازفة والدم لما لمست يديك فبريت. So also the addition καὶ ἡ πόλις σου ἤτις καλεῖται ἔδεσσα = وللمدينة الرها;<sup>4</sup> although some of the additions in *cod.* 315 are wanting in the Arabic.

For the sake of comparison I have reprinted the four continuous extracts of *cod.* 315 as published by Lipsius.

<sup>1</sup> Tixeront, *Les origines de l'Église d'Édesse*, etc. Paris, 1888. Dashian, *Zur Abgar-Sage*. WZKM. rv., pp. 178sq.

<sup>2</sup> Tixeront, *loc. cit.* p. 28. Lipsius, *Die Edessensische Abgar-Sage*, p. 20. Nestle, *De Santa Cruce*, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* pp. 18, 21, 56, 59, 62.

<sup>4</sup> Lipsius, p. 16.

αὕτη δέ μου ἐπιστολὴ ὅπου ἂν προβληθῇ εἴτε ἐν δίκῃ ἢ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, εἴτε ἐν ὁδῷ εἴτε ἐν θαλάσσῃ, εἴτε ἐν ῥηγιῶσιν [l. ριγούσιν] εἴτε ἐν πυρέσσουσιν ἢ φρικιῶσιν ἢ ἐκβράζουσιν ἢ κατάδεσμον ἔχωσιν [l. ἔχουσιν] ἢ ὑπέρβρασιν, ἢ φαρμακευθεῖσιν ἢ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια, διαλυθήσονται. ἔστω δὲ ὁ φορῶν αὐτὴν ἄνθρωπος ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος, καὶ λεγέτω· αὕτη μὲν εἰς ἱασιν εἶναι [ἔσται?] καὶ χαρὰν βέβαιαν. διότι ὁ λόγος γραπτὸς γέγραπται τῇ ἰδίᾳ μου χειρὶ μετὰ τῆς σφραγίδος τῆς ἐμῆς. αἵτινες εἰσὶν ἐντετυπτωμένοι [sic] τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ ἐπτά σφραγίσιν. *T. Ψ. X. E. Y. P. A.* ἰησοῦς χριστὸς υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ υἱὸς μαρίας ψυχὴν φέρων ἐν δύο φύσεσιν γνωριζόμενος, θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος. τῶν δὲ σφραγίδων ἡ λύσις ἦν αὕτη. ὁ μὲν *T* δηλοῖ, ὅτι ἔκων ἐπάγην ἐν σταυρῷ. τὸ δὲ *Ψ*, ὅτι ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος οὐκ εἰμί, ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος κατὰ ἀλήθ. τὸ δὲ *X*, ὅτι ἀναπέπαυμαι ὑπὸ τῶν χειροβίμ. τὸ *E*, ἐγὼ θεὸς πρῶτος ἐγὼ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ πλὴν ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἐστὶ θεὸς ἕτερος. τὸ *Y*, ὑψηλὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ θεὸς τῶν θεῶν. τὸ *P*, ῥύστης εἰμί τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους. τὸ *A*, δι' ὅλου καὶ διηνεκῶς καὶ διὰ παντὸς *ζω* καὶ διαμένω εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ταύτας οὖν τὰς σφραγίδας ἐχάραξα ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ὁ χαράξας τὰς πλάκας τὰς δοθείσας τῷ μωσῇ.

καὶ δεξιόμενος ὁ αὐγαρος τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἐπιστολὴν, ἀκούσας ὅτι καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπείγονται [cod. ἐπήγοντε] τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν κύριον. πέμψας οὖν αὐτίκα ἐπ' αὐτὸν (?) ταχυδρόμον τῇ τέχνῃ ζῶγραφον τοῦ λαβεῖν τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ κυρίου. καὶ εἰσελθόντος τοῦ ταχυδρόμου εἰς τὰ προπύλαια ἱεροσολύμων ὑπῆντησεν ὁ κύριος αὐτῷ [cod. αὐτόν]. καὶ διαλεχθεὶς μετ' αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτῷ. κατάσκοπος εἶ ἄνθρωπε. ἐκεῖνος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν· ἀπεσταλμένος εἰμί ὑπὸ αὐγάρου θεάσασθαι ἰησοῦν τὸν ναζωραῖον τοῦ λαβεῖν τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ [cod. τὸ] προσώπου αὐτοῦ. καὶ συνετάξατο οὖν ὁ ἰησοῦς παραγενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν· τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς ἀπελθὼν ὁ ἰησοῦς ἐπὶ τῆς συναγωγῆς, ἐκαθέζετο διδάσκων τοὺς ὄχλους. ὁ δὲ ταχυδρόμος εἰσελθὼν ἔστη εἰς τὸ προπύλαιον ζωγραφῶν τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ ἰησοῦ. καὶ μὴ δυναμένου καταλαβέσθαι τὴν μορφήν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, κατέλαβε καὶ ὁ σὺνδρομος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὠθήσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν· εἰσελθε καὶ ἀπόδος ἡν περιέχεις σινδόνα τοῦ αὐγάρου [τοῦ τοπάρχου] καὶ δεσπότου ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς συναγωγῆς. καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐπὶ πάντων ἔπεσεν εἰς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἰησοῦ ἀποδόσας αὐτῷ τὴν σινδόνα. καὶ λαβὼν ὕδωρ ὁ κύριος ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ ἀπενίψατο τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιθεὶς τὴν σινδόνα ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἀνεζωγραφήθη [cod. ἀνεζωγραφίσθη]. καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ ἰησοῦ ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὥστε



θαυμάζειν πάντας τοὺς καθημένους μετ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ δοὺς τὴν σινδόνα τῷ ταχυδρόμῳ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς τὸν αὔγαρον.

ἔλθόντες οὖν οἱ ταχυδρόμοι ὡς μιλίου ἐνὸς τῆς πόλεως ἐδέσσης συρόμενός τις εὗρέθη κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν. καὶ ἀψάμενος τῆς ἁγίου σινδόνης εὐθέως ἤλετο καὶ περιεπάτη καὶ εἰσελθὼν δρομαῖος πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν μητέρα χαίρων καὶ ἀγαλλιώμενος καὶ θεαθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων. ἐθαύμαζον ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἔλεγον. οὐχ οὗτος ἦν ὁ συρόμενος τῆσδε τῆς χήρας ὁ υἱός; καὶ εὐθέως ἀνημέχθη τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐγάρῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ μετακαλεσάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγει αὐτῷ· πῶς ἰάθης; ἀπεκρίθη ἐκεῖνος καὶ εἶπεν ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίου ἐνὸς παρεγενόμην τῆς πόλεως αἰτῶν. καὶ τις ἤψατο μου καὶ ἀνωρθώθη καὶ περιεπάτησα. ὁ δὲ αὔγαρος ὑπέλαβεν, ὅτι ὁ χριστὸς ἦν καὶ πέμψας εὔρε τὸν ταχυδρόμον μετὰ τοῦ συνδρόμου αὐτοῦ, ἐπιφέροντας [cod. ....τες] τὴν τοῦ χριστοῦ εἰκόνα. καὶ ἔλθόντων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ παλάτιον ἐδέξατο αὐτοὺς ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἀσπασίως ὁ αὔγαρος κατακείμενος ἐπὶ κλίνης. ἐξέστη καὶ δεξάμενος τὴν σινδόνα εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ μετὰ πίστεως ἔαθη παραχρῆμα. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἰησοῦν χριστὸν ἀπέστειλε θαδδαῖον ἐν ἐδέσσει τῇ πόλει τοῦ ἰδασθαι αὐγάρου πᾶσαν [R. καὶ πᾶσαν] μαλακίαν. ἔλθων οὖν ὁ θαδδαῖος καὶ λαλήσας αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατηγγέας ἐκατέβη ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν τὴν λεγομένην κερασσὰ καὶ ἐβάπτισεν αὐτὸν πανοικί. καὶ εὐθέως ἐκαθερίσθη αὐτοῦ τὸ πάθος. καὶ ἡγαλιάσατο τῷ πνεύματι δοξάζων καὶ εὐλογῶν τὸν θεὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

ἔλθων οὖν ὁ ταχυδρόμος καὶ ὁ σύνδρομος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἔμειναν ἔξω πόλεως ὀνόματι ἱεράπολις εἰς κεραμαρεῖον [I. κεραμεῖον]. Καὶ φοβηθέντες ἔκρυψαν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χριστοῦ ἀνά μεταξὺ δύο κεραμίδιων καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον ἐφάνη στύλος πυρὸς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἔστη ἐπάνω, οὗ ἦν ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ κυρίου. Καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ καστροφύλαξ τῆς πόλεως τὸν στύλον τοῦ πυρὸς ἐφώνησεν φωνὴν μεγάλην, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ λαὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἰδόντες τὴν ἐν σινδόνι εἰκόνα τοῦ κυρίου ἤθελον αὐτὴν λαβεῖν. Καὶ ψηλαφήσαντες εὗρον ὅτι ἀνεζωγραφηθῆ ἐν τῶν κεραμίδιων καὶ ἔλαβον τὸ κεραμίδιον, εἰσῆγαν ἐάσαντες τοὺς ταχυδρόμους πορεύεσθαι.

The MS. from which the present text is taken is now in the Library of Columbia College. It is incomplete at the end. Its general title is as follows: بسم الابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد. نبتدى نكتب اخبار

قصص الشهد او القديسين الذين ارضوا الله بصالح اعمالهم وصفة  
سيرتهم الفاضلة صلواتهم وبركاتهم تحفظنا واياكم سرمد امين.

The contents are apochryphal in character. The MS. is quite modern, and is written without a too strict regard for the niceties of grammar or of correct spelling. In fact many very modern—and, at times perhaps, incorrect—forms have found entrance.<sup>5</sup> But it is impossible to tell the exact date of the original text; and it would have been wrong to correct all things according to the Mufaṣṣal.<sup>6</sup> I have therefore only called attention to what seemed to me to be evident mistakes.

نكتب رسالة ملك الرها الابجر رسلها الى ربنا يسوع المسيح.  
قد بلغنى عن عجايبك. وعنك انك بلا سحر ولا دوا بتشفى المرضى.  
وانك بكلمة واحدة. وهبت للعميان النظر وللمرضا الشفى وللخرس  
التكلم وللصم السماع وللمرضا الشفا وتطرد الارواح النجسة بكلمتك.  
<sup>5</sup> والذى دحرهم الوجع والعداب تشفيهم وتقيم الموتى وامرأة نازفة  
الدم لما لمست يديك<sup>7</sup> فبريت فيا سيدى بلغنى عنك ظنيت في  
قلبك انك الله او انك ابن الله نذلت من السما وفعلت هذا كله. يا  
سيدى فمن اجل هذا اسالك انا واتوسل اليك ان تاتى لعندى وان كنت  
انا غير مستحق اتكنن على واحضر لى تشفينى من هذا الالام  
الذى فى وبلغنى ايضا ان اليهود قد مقتوك وهم ان يظلموك وليس  
خافيك اننى انا فى مدينة صغيرة لطيلنه<sup>8</sup> اشهيت ان تكون لى انا  
وانت ولك السلام كما تريد \*

جواب رسالة الملك الابجر الذى هى من عند سيدنا يسوع  
المسيح.

<sup>5</sup> E. g. بتشفى l. c. cf. Spitta, *Grammatik des Arab. Vulgardialects von Ägypten*, p. 203 (ZDMG. 44, 543). J.A. 1887. Extrait No. 22, p. 8. نزل l. 50, for نزل. Spitta, loc. cit., p. 18. مثل for مسل.

<sup>6</sup> See Sachau, *Chronologie Orientalischer Völker von Abderamān*. Introd. p. lxx.

<sup>7</sup> MS. نازفة. <sup>8</sup> Conjectural: the MS. is blotted here. <sup>9</sup> So the MS. Read لطيفة.

يقول هكذا طوباك يا ابجر وللمدينتك الرها. طوباك لانك لم<sup>15</sup>  
 ترانى وامنت ومن الان وهبت لك العافية والشفاء واما ما كتبت  
 لى من اننى<sup>10</sup> اجى اليك ناولا واجب لى ان اتممت العمل الذى وردت  
 لاجله واصعد الى عند من ارسلنى ارسل لك احد من تلاميذى وهو  
 يشفى مرضك ويهب لك الحيا الداعية والسلامة لك والى من فى<sup>20</sup>  
 مدينتك الذى لا ينبغى لاحدا من الناس ان يقدر عليها الى انقضا  
 العالم امين\*

يا خوة<sup>11</sup> هذه الرسالة مكتوبة بيد ربنا والاهنا يسوع المسيح وختمها  
 بختامة<sup>12</sup> سبعة ختوم حروف يونانية بيد الخاصة الخاتم الاول يدل  
 اننى باختيارى تقدمت للصلب والثانى<sup>13</sup> بانى انسان تام والاه<sup>25</sup>  
 بالحقيقة والثالث فأننى رفعت على الشاروبيم<sup>14</sup> والرابع ان الاله الاول  
 وليس الاله اخر سواى الخامس ملك عالى انا واله الالهت<sup>15</sup> السادس  
 صرت مخلص السابع بالكلية فى كل حين انا حى دايم الى دهر  
 الدهرين. هذه الرسالة من حملها براسة تنجيه من خطر الطريق  
 ومن واجه الحكام والساطين تخلص ومن به حمار دية تشفيه ومن<sup>30</sup>  
 بهم ارواح سرا وشى من السكر ينجبهم ومن كان فى مجا وفى نهر  
 او فى قتال او فى كل شى سيتم على الانسان تجل عليه وان كان  
 مقعد بتريه ويكون حاملها محفوظ من كل اعمال الشرير وتكون له  
 شقا لروحه وجسده ويكون له الفرح والسرور دايبا سرمدان امين.

<sup>10</sup> MS. *hās* اتى.

<sup>11</sup> Read يا اخوة.

<sup>12</sup> MS. *ḥatāmāt*. In other places I have simply substituted *ḥ* for ت.

<sup>13</sup> MS. *al-thānī*. In other places I have simply substituted ث for ت. Cf. Miḥāil Sab-  
 bag's *Grammatik der Arab. Umgangssprache in Syrien und Ägypten*, p. 12.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Dozy, *Supplement*, i. 715. *Muḥīṭ al Muḥīṭ*, p. 1802.

<sup>15</sup> Read الالهات.

35 فلما قبل الابجر رسالة الرب فذا دشوقه وغمامة<sup>16</sup> به وحالاً وجه  
 مصور ماهر جدّاً حادقاً فارسله لكي ان يمسك بمسك الرب  
 وبمسك وجهه<sup>17</sup> ففسار المصور في الطريق حتى انه التقا بالرب  
 سبحانه فخطابه قايلًا انت ايها الانسان كلوس فاجابه قايلًا انا  
 مرسل من عند ابجر لكي انظر يسوع الناصري واتييز مثال<sup>18</sup>  
 40 وجهته وامثلها فامر الرب ان يقيم مع الجمع وعرفة في حاله انه  
 هو يسوع الناصري فجلس يسوع معلم الشعوب فاراد المصور يتم امر  
 سيده فوقف مقابل الرب ليصور مثالة وجهه فما كان يقدر يمشد وجه  
 الرب فقال الرب للرسول اين السفينة التي معك فتقدم الرسول  
 مسرعاً نحو الرب وطرح نفسه على قدميه ودفع له السفينة قدام  
 45 الشعوب فاخذها السيد على يديه وغسل وجهه بهاء ومسحه بتلك  
 السفينة حتى تعجب الرسول المصور وكل الجمع تعجب فدفعها  
 للرسول فاخذها وهو فرحان الرسول وانطلق الى عند سيده الابجر  
 وهو ساير في الطريق هو ورفاقه فانتبهوا الى مدينة مبسج فباتوا  
 خارج المدينة في فاخورة الفخار فوضع صورة المسيح بين قرميدين  
 50 خوفاً من اللصوص وناموا ففي تلك الليل نذل<sup>19</sup> عامود نار اخضر  
 ووقف على صورة المسيح فلما مر<sup>20</sup> حراس تلك المدينة فنظر  
 تلك العجب العظيم فتعجب فصرخ بصوت عالي حتى خرجها  
 جميع الناس لخارج المدينة ونظروا العجب فهموا ان ياخذوها من

<sup>16</sup> MS. وعرمة.

<sup>17</sup> MS. ووجهه a mistake, if we ought not to read وجهه.

<sup>18</sup> MS. here and in other places مسال. Cf. Spitta loc. cit. p. 9.

<sup>19</sup> I. e. نزل.

<sup>20</sup> I. e. مر.

الرسول ففتشو بين القرميدين فراوها قد لزقت بواحدة من  
 القرميدين فاخذ هو قرميدة الصورة وارضاهم في قرميدة الثانية<sup>55</sup>  
 فاسار الرسول حتى دنى في مدينة الرها مقدار ميل وان بانسان مقعد  
 لمس بيده الصورة فللوقت فبرى حالاً فمشى قايباً وجرى لعند امه  
 للمدينة مسرعاً فلما بصرت امه والعالم تعجبوا وصاروا جايرين  
 ويقولو بعضهم لبعض ما هذا ابن<sup>21</sup> الازملة المقعد فوصل خبره للملك<sup>60</sup>  
 فاحضره لعنده وقال له كيف برئت فاجابه قايل اننى من مقدار ميل  
 واحد من المدينة وانا جالس اطلب صدقة من الناس وان بواحد  
 ماردا في الطريق فالتمنى فللوقت قمت واقفا فافتكر الملك  
 الابجر ان مراسله جابه وصورة المسيح معه. فارسل بلقاهم فوجد  
 الرسول مع رفيقه حاملين صورة السيد المسيح فلما وصلوا الى البلاط<sup>65</sup>  
 اخذ الملك تلك الصورة على يديه وهو مطروح على السرير من  
 مدة ستة سنين وسريه فللوقت برى بالساعة وتعافوا<sup>22</sup> ان سيدنا  
 يسوع المسيح بعد صعوده الى السما ارسل تداوس تلاميذه<sup>23</sup> لنى اعد  
 الابجر فشفاه من كافة امراضه وعرفه طريق الحق وكلام الحق  
 وانكدر الى عين ما تسما كارسا فعمده بها وجميع<sup>24</sup> اهل بيته بسم الاب<sup>70</sup>  
 والابن والروح القدس الاله واحد وتهلل بروح القدس وهو يسبح  
 الية المجد الى دهر الداهرين فهذا ماء<sup>25</sup> انتها الينا من امر الملك  
 السعيد الابجر وتمننه سبحانه الله تعالى في ملكه امين. تم امين.

<sup>21</sup> MS. هداين.

<sup>22</sup> ويقال ؟

<sup>23</sup> Rend. تداوس احد من.

<sup>24</sup> MS. ولجميع.

<sup>25</sup> Sic!

كما يقول اطلبوا تجدو واقرعو يفتكم لكم ينجبنا اليه تعالى من  
جميع الشدايد كما نجا<sup>26</sup> هذا الملك العسيد امين تم امين.

We shall write the letter of the King of Edessa, Abgar, which he sent to our master Jesus, the Messiah.

I have heard of thy wonderful deeds and that thou dost heal the sick without enchantment and without medicine; and that thou, by means of one word, hast given sight to the blind and to the lame recovery, to the dumb speech, to the deaf hearing, to the sick healing. Thou casteth out unclean spirits by thy word, and those whom pain and punishment injure thou healest. Thou raisest the dead; and the woman flowing with blood, when she touched thy hands became well. And now, O Master, I have heard that thou thinkest in thy heart that thou art God or the Son of God. Thou hast come down from heaven and hast done all this, O Master! On this account I beg and request of thee that thou come to me. Although I am not worthy, do thou show mercy to me and come so that thou mayest heal me from this pain which is in me. I have also heard that the Jews hate thee and wish to do thee harm. It is not hidden from thee that I am in a city, small and beautiful. I wish that it be for me and for thee. And to thee be peace—as thou wilt.

Answer to the letter of King Abgar which came from our master Jesus, the Messiah.

He says as follows: Blessed art thou, O Abgar and thy city Edessa. Blessed art thou, in that thou didst believe in me, not having seen me. From the present time I have given thee health and healing. Now regarding that about which thou hast written to me that I should come to thee, first it is necessary that I should complete the work for the sake of which I have come down. And [when] I shall have ascended unto Him that sent me, I shall send to thee one of my disciples that he may heal thy disease and give to thee eternal life. Peace be to thee and to those who are in thy city, which no man will be able to take to the end of the world. Amen.

O brother! This letter was written by the hand of our master and our God, Jesus, the Messiah, and he sealed it with seven seals in Grecian characters by means of a eunuch.<sup>27</sup>

The first seal showed "I, of my own free will, went to the cross." The second, "that I am a perfect<sup>28</sup> man and God in very truth." The third, "that I have ascended to the cherubim." The fourth "that [I] am God, the first,

<sup>26</sup> MS. نجبنا.

<sup>27</sup> I do not find this form in the dictionaries: but it must be some derivative of *ḥaṣa(y)* "he drew forth, or castrated his testicles" (Lane S. V.).

<sup>28</sup> Or *real*.



and that there is no other God beside me." The fifth, "that I am an exalted King and God of Gods." The sixth, "I am the Saviour." The seventh, "altogether, at all times I live, existing forever." Whoever bears this letter upon his head, it will save him from the danger of the road; and he who meets wise men and rulers, it will spare him; he who has a strong fever, it will heal him; and those who have evil spirits or any other form of enchantment, it will free them. He who is on the road,<sup>29</sup> or on a river, or in a battle or in anything that happens to a man, it will release him [from his difficulty]. And if anyone be seated in ————— and carry it, he will be free from all unpleasant labor. It will be medicine for his spirit and his body: and joy and gladness will be to him forever and ever. Amen.

Now when Abgar had received the letter of the master, his desire and his wish grew strong; and at once he sent a very skillful sculptor. He directed him to go to procure a likeness of the master and of his face. Then the sculptor went on his way until he reached the master, praised be he! Then he spake to him saying: Verily thou art a sculptor.<sup>30</sup> Then he answered him, saying, I am sent by Abgar to see Jesus, the Nazarene, to see the likeness of his face and to picture it. The master commanded him to take his place with the multitude. Then he told him of himself that he was Jesus the Nazarene. Then Jesus sat down to teach the people and the sculptor wished to fulfil the behest of his superior. He placed himself opposite the master in order to paint the likeness of his face. But he was not able to picture the likeness of the face of the master. Then said the master to the messenger, where is the handkerchief(?)<sup>31</sup> which thou hast. Then the messenger came quickly to the master and threw himself at his feet and gave him the handkerchief before all the people. Then the master took it in his hands, washed his face with the water and wiped it with the handkerchief so that the sculptor who had been sent and all the people wondered. Then he gave it to the messenger who seized it joyfully and went to his superior, Abgar. This one was journeying upon the road with his escort. They had come to the city MBSJ.<sup>32</sup> They remained over night outside the city in the shop of a potter: and placed the image of the Messiah between two bricks out of fear of robbers. Then they slept. Now during the night there came down a dark pillar of fire upon the image of the Messiah. And when the guard of that city passed by and saw this great wonder, they were amazed and cried out with a loud cry until a multitude of people came

<sup>29</sup> The lexica do not give this derivation of جام; but it must correspond to the Greek ἐν ὁδῷ.

<sup>30</sup> In the Greek text, we read κατὰσκευὸς εἰ ἄνθρωπος.

<sup>31</sup> MS. السفينة which is undoubtedly a mistake. Ibn el Athir, VIII, p. 302, 21 has منديل cf. also Tixeront, loc. laud. p. 199.

<sup>32</sup> Read منبج Mabug. Greek has λεπάπολις.

to the outskirts of the city. They saw the wonder and desired to take it (i. e. the picture) from the messenger. They searched between the two bricks, and saw that it was fixed fast to one of them. Then [the messenger] caught hold of one of the bricks, and gave them the second one. Then the messenger journeyed until he had come to within one mile of the city of Edessa. Here he lighted upon a man deprived of the use of his limbs who touched the picture with his hand. At that very moment he became completely well and went on his way standing upright. He came quickly to the city to his mother and when the other people saw him they wondered, and came saying to each other: what has come over the widow's son who had not the use of his legs? His story reached the King who had him brought to him. Then he said to him, how hast thou become healed? He answered him saying, behold I was seated about a mile distant from the city. I was seated looking for alms from men when something passed secretly up the road and touched me and at once I arose upright. And King Abgar understood at once that this messenger had come back to him with the picture of the Messiah. Then he sent to meet them and he found the messenger with his escort, bearing the image of the master, the Messiah. Now when they had come to the palace, the King took this image in his hands, he having lain upon his couch for a little over six years. At once, at that moment, he was healed and became well.

Now, our master, Jesus the Messiah, after his ascent to heaven sent Thaddaeus [one of] his disciples to Abgar and he healed him from all his sickness. He taught him the way of life and the word of truth. And he went down to a well of water which was called *كارسا*,<sup>33</sup> and he baptized him in it and all the people of his household in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God. And he gloried in the Holy Spirit and praised God who is to be glorified unto all generations.

Now this is what has reached us about the glorious King Abgar and the doings(?) of God, praised and exalted be, in his kingdom. Amen! Amen! As is said, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you.<sup>34</sup> May God the exalted one free us from every misfortune as he freed this exalted King! Amen! Amen!

<sup>33</sup> In Greek *κερασά*.

<sup>34</sup> Matthew 7:7.

## NOTES ON THE ANALYSIS OF GENESIS XXXII.-L.\*

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There can be no doubt in the mind of critics that we have in Gen. xxxii. 1-3 and 4-13 respectively E's and J's story of Mahanaim, though the question must doubtless be considered still open whether, as Wellhausen holds, E in ver. 3 really takes the name **מַחֲנֵי** as a singular with locative ending (cf. **מַחֲנֶה** 3a); or whether, as Dillmann maintains, E as well as J understood it as a dual, his own host and God's being the "two companies." There seems to be, however, a general and very natural tendency to react from the stringency of Wellhausen's analysis, in the excision of portions like vs. 10-13, from a context with which they agree in style and language, on the ground of difference in subject-matter and point of view. Dillmann's inclusiveness, which has strong support in the practical identity in vocabulary, phraseology and style, of passages such as Gen. xii. 10 sqq., xviii. 23 sqq., etc., with the rest of J, is apparently and perhaps justly gaining in favor. Nevertheless in the case of vs. 10-13 I am obliged to side with Wellhausen in attributing the verses to J<sup>2</sup>. The reference to xxxi. 3 is not decisive; the new etymology of Mahanaim, ver. 11, might have stood originally in J side by side with that of ver. 8. "Jordan" even, ver. 11, can perhaps be explained, if "Jabbok," v. 23, is from E, as an inconsistency of J with his own situation; but over and above these formidable objections to the authenticity of the passage comes ver. 13 undertaking to give the language of Yahweh's promises to Jacob and quoting a combination of xvi. 10 and xxii. 16, both certainly of origin subsequent to the union of J and E, and neither addressed to Jacob. If any promise of the kind was given to Jacob in J we should be driven to assume that it stood originally in ch. xxviii. and has disappeared without any special reason, and to make the further assumption that J had a narrative of the theophany at Bethel

\* See HEBRAICA, VII, 1, 2 and 3, and the author's *Bibles within the Bible*. Student Pub. Co., Hartford, Conn. (In press.) Also *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, IX, 2, 1890.

The author may be permitted to insert here a communication from Dr. Karl Budde, of Heidelberg, on the subject of the evidence from Deut. iv. 32 sq. in favor of an Elohistie creation story of J<sup>1</sup> underlying the present Gen. i., in the preceding article, HEBRAICA, VII, 3, p. 222, which arrived too late for insertion in that number. Dr. Budde writes: Ein schöner Beweis..... ist wieder Ihre schöne Beobachtung an Deut. iv. 32, die mir ganz neu war. Ich bin ganz mit Ihnen derselben Meinung, dass das einzige **כִּי אֵל** bei D zusammen mit **אֱלֹהִים** eine vollkommene Erklärung eigentlich nur in einer früheren Fassung von Gen. i. 32 sq. von der Hand eines J<sup>1</sup> finden kann (vgl. **כִּי אֵל** auch Ex. xxxiv. 10, soviel ich sehe, von spät-jahwistischer Hand). Das ist wirklich sehr überraschend und für mich eine grosse Genugthung.

already previous to this time, which is, to say the least, extremely doubtful. The sermonic tone of the passage has been pointed out by Wellhausen.

The two clauses 14a and 22b are practically identical. Their assignment severally to E or J will depend upon that of vs. 14b-22a; for 22b is inseparable from 22a. Now it is true that all critics agree in attributing 14b-22a to E, partly on the ground that in ver. 22b we are brought back to the point of 14a and partly because 22b knows of only one "company," and to controvert this unanimous opinion may seem hazardous; yet as the analyses of ch. XXXII. heretofore advanced confessedly involve very serious difficulties in ch. XXXIII. or *vice versa*, the reader's attention may reasonably be invited to certain evidence for assigning vs. 14b-22 as well as vs. 4-9 to J.

The first of the two arguments above cited in favor of 14b-22a as E's is readily met by simply connecting 14a with ver. 3, the nearest E section. We are then indeed brought back to the same point in ver. 22 as in ver. 14a (ver. 3), but this only makes vs. 4-9, 14b-22 = vs. 1-3, 14a, not 4-14a = 14b-22. The second assumes that J would not have written **במחנה** (ver. 22) if he had previously spoken of *two* camps. Wellhausen (*Comp. d. Hez.*, p. 45) translates in ver. 22 "in Mahaneh." But supposing Wellhausen to be wrong and that the allusion is indeed to Jacob's double camp on the northern shore, the author had no alternative but to express himself in this way in order to present the intended contrast between the band which crossed the river and that which remained behind. If the author meant "in this party rather than in that," he could not have said **במחנים**, for this would have been taken as the proper name. On the other hand he could say without real ambiguity **במחנה** "in the camp," meaning thereby Jacob's personal following in contrast with the **מנחה** which passed over in advance. And here it would be more natural to use the singular even though this camp was a double one.

Certainly neither of the above arguments, nor both together, can be considered as establishing authorship by E as against any considerable evidence for J. Let us see what there is to be urged on this side. Be it first observed that whether 14b-22 be J's or E's, in neither case does this passage form the parallel to vs. 4-9; for XXXIII. 8, which certainly refers to and must be connected with, XXXII. 14b-22, requires us to assume that this "company" which Esau "met" was not a first embassy, but a second one. Otherwise we must suppose that Esau was already *en route* without having received any notice of Jacob's arrival. Still more plainly it appears from ver. 18 that Jacob knows Esau to be *en route*, for the servants are given instructions for "when Esau meeteth thee." We must understand this to be a reference to ver. 7 or else supply the equivalent. Again XXXIII. 10 and 11 are certainly doublets, from which it appears that both J and E related the sending the one a **מנחה** the other a **ברכה** to Esau. If then we separate XXXII. 14b sqq. from vs. 4-9 we find ourselves at best obliged to supply a first half of the

story to E and a second half to J. Dillmann points indeed to שְׂרָה אֲדָם in ver. 4 as a relic of an E version of vs. 4-9, but as we are by no means obliged to suppose that E had any narrative of this first embassy these two words, which are readily explicable as a mere gloss to אֶרֶץ שְׂעִיר, or which might have come from quite a different connection, form a very inadequate foundation for any positive assumption. It clearly appears that there can be no argument here from duplication, for if 14b sqq. did not originally follow upon vs. 4-9 we are obliged to suppose that something of equivalent meaning did. So far then as appears from the story in ch. XXXII. it might equally well be J's or E's version of the sending of a *present* to Esau which is preserved to us in XXXII. 14b sqq.

But let us turn to XXXIII. 8-10. Here we have most undeniably a play upon the name Peniel, just as in XXXII. 4-9 upon Mahanaim. To the author's mind the traditional interpretation of the clause, "as one seeth the face of God," i. e., *tam benignam*, an interpretation which even Dillmann adopts, is an absurdity. The point of the comparison to which all of XXXII. 14b-22 and XXXIII. 8 sq. has been leading up is that as the worshipper "before God" presents his מִנְחָה and is accepted (Gen. iv. 2-7) so Jacob seeks to "appease" Esau "with the מִנְחָה which goeth before him; afterwards he will see his face and peradventure will be accepted" (XXXII. 21). Hence he can say when the result has followed his expectation. "If now I have found grace in thy sight then receive my מִנְחָה at my hand; forasmuch as I have seen thy face as one seeth the face of God (cf. Ex. xxxiv. 20b) and thou wast pleased with me." The connection of XXXIII. 8-10 with the whole passage descriptive of the מִנְחָה and above all with XXXII. 21 is absolutely undeniable. Dillmann even, who assigns XXXII. 14b sqq. to E, attempts to separate ver. 21, explaining it as inserted by R from J, but the verse cannot be disconnected from the context. Throughout XXXII. 8 sq., 14-22; XXXIII. 1-8, 8-10 there is the same underlying idea, the shrewd disposition of Jacob's forces in view of the 400 men.

On the other hand, much as it may interfere with the smoothness of analysis, the linguistic and stylistic marks of XXXIII. 8-10 are too strong to be ignored. Dillmann is certainly right in insisting that none but J could have written twice here מִצָּחַן and once כִּי עַל כֵּן, and we might now add that it is J who speaks of the divisions of Jacob's retinue as מַחֲנֹת, XXXII. 4-9, 22; XXXIII. 8, and J who speaks of the present as a מִנְחָה (cf. ver. 11, בְּרִכָּה). Moreover ver. 11, unless we abstract from it the middle clause without reason, must certainly be E's (cf. ver. 5 and אֱלֹהִים), and this compels us to assign its manifest doublet, ver. 10, to J. I see no escape from the conclusion that XXXII. 14b-22; XXXIII. 8-10 are J's as well as XXXII. 4-9.

Turning now again to XXXII. 14b sqq. and critically examining the language we find indeed nothing decisive either way, yet all the peculiarities which do appear favor the authorship of J. מִנְחָה, vs. 14b and 20, must be contrasted



with **ברכה**, xxxiii. 11. **תִּישִׁים**, ver. 15, is found only in J, Gen. xxx. 35, and **רחלים** in the same verse only in J, Gen. xxxi. 38. The words may be considered characteristic although here unavoidable terms, in the sense that J displays a greater interest than E in the shepherd's art and shepherd scenes, and greater familiarity with shepherds' terms. **צֶרֶר**, vs. 17 and 20 (four times), is found only in J, Gen. xxix. 2 bis, 3, 8; xxx. 40; xxxv. 21 (E has **צֶאֱן**). **אֹלִי**, ver. 21 (cf. Gen. xviii. 24, 26; xxiv. 5, 39; xxvii. 12; xliii. 12); **נִשָּׂא פָנִים**, ver. 21 (cf. Gen. xix. 21 (iv. 7?)); **גַּם הוּא**, ver. 19 (cf. Gen. iii. 6; iv. 22, 26; x. 21, etc.); **מַחֲנֶה**, ver. 22 (cf. ver. 8 sq.; xxxiii. 8); are also worthy of note.

From the above analysis it appears that JE presented in his narrative of the meeting and reconciliation of Jacob and Esau only the merest traces and fragments of E, and this no doubt corresponds to the original proportions of E's account relatively to J's. We have no right to assume that E presented a duplicate of everything in J, but must supply the gaps as briefly as is consistent with subsequent references in E's narrative. Acting on this principle we gather from xxxiii. 11 that Jacob had sent a gift (**בְּרִכָּה**) to Esau, "to the field of Edom," accompanied perhaps with a message like Gen. L. 17, and that Esau had therefore come to meet him. Further assumptions are gratuitous.

In ver. 23 sq. we have two contradictory statements, one that Jacob "passed over the ford of Jabbok," and one that he remained behind, but sent over his retinue. The latter stands connected with the story of the nightly wrestling. Ver. 23, on account of **שִׁפְחוֹת** and because J alone (ver. 7 sq.) furnishes a motive for a crossing at night, must be assigned, at least in part, to J, and Dillmann reasons that because the clause, "and passed over the ford of Jabbok," stands connected with this verse and not with ver. 24a it must be J who brings Jacob to the southern bank at this point and consequently leaves no room for the story of the wrestling, for this is certainly enacted on the northern shore (cf. ver. 24 sq.). But this reasoning is not conclusive; for the datum, "and he passed over the ford of Jabbok," is all that is introduced into the *Hauptbericht* from the parallel source, **יָקַח** being a mere resumption by JE<sup>2</sup> of the thread of ver. 23. This datum had to be inserted here and could not be inserted in ver. 24 since Jacob could not then have been "left alone" (ver. 25). In other words, if JE<sup>2</sup> had before him the parallels,

J.

And he took his two wives, etc., and sent them over the stream.

E.

[And he took his household (?) and [he] passed over the ford of Jabbok.

he was obliged, in order to connect with ver. 25, to put first the item, "and passed over the ford of Jabbok," and afterward the item, "and sent them over the stream," whether they stood as above in the originals or *vice versa*.

If now "Jordan" in ver. 11 be original with J, it appears highly improbable that the name Jabbok should have occurred in the same document immediately



after. The present writer, however, rejecting ver. 11, cannot of course lay stress upon this point. Whether J had originally the clause, "and passed over the ford of Jabbok," or "and sent them over," etc., must depend upon whether ver. 25 is assigned to E or J.

It may seem as if E's authorship of vs. 25-32 was conclusively established by the assignment of xxxiii. 8-10 to J, for the author is not of those who believe that the two aetiologies of Peniel in xxxii. 31 and xxxiii. 10 can both be assigned to the same document. I am indebted to Prof. G. F. Moore, of Andover, for the suggestion that ver. 31 is perhaps separable from its present context. Here in fact is to be found in my opinion the solution of the many difficulties with which the analysis of chs. xxxii. sq. is surrounded.

Nearly all critics (Dillmann excepted) feel compelled to assign vs. 25 sq. to J for reasons doubtless familiar to the reader. Of these, however, the most important is the fact that it is J, not E, who from this point on (changes of R in view of xxxv. 9 sq. excepted) adopts the name Israel.

Apparently ver. 31 stands very closely related to the context, although it might be questioned whether "I have seen God" was a suitable expression to describe the encounter just related. Certainly the stylistic form of the verse is E's (cf. for this elliptical form xli. 51 sq.; Ex. xviii. 4; cf. also ver. 3 and contrast xxxiii. 17), though פנים אל פנים (Ex. xxxiii. 7) cannot in the author's view be cited in favor of E. But the fatal objection to regarding the verse as standing in its original context here is that the scene of the encounter is certainly Mahanaim on the northern bank of the Jabbok, and not Peniel on the southern. Cf. xxxii. 23 sq.; xxxiii. 10. The encounter of vs. 25-30 then is not so much a parallel, as suggested by Wellhausen, to the meeting with Esau, but to the meeting with the angels of God at Mahanaim, vs. 1-3. It is not Peniel at all that the author has in mind originally, but the word-play is upon *Jabbok* and *Israel*. The scene of vs. 25-30 is Mahanaim. In E's narrative of Peniel the meeting was doubtless some appearance of God to Jacob, assuring him of a peaceful reception by Esau (cf. xxxi. 24), from which all that now survives is ver. 31. The original context was perhaps quite similar to the present, though scarcely so anthropomorphic, but the scene of ver. 31 can only have been Peniel on the southern bank. Whether פנואל of ver. 32 in contrast with פניאל of ver. 31 can be taken as marking an original distinction of authorship is doubtful, but certainly there can be no good ground for attributing ver. 33 to R merely because it displays an unmistakable resemblance to J. The language and style of all the passage 25-33 *except* ver. 31 are also that of J. שחר, vs. 25 and 27, אֵישׁ of the superhuman being, ver. 25, עַל-כֵּן, ver. 33, are characteristic; the unwillingness of the elohim-being to be seen by day light (cf. ii. 21; xix. 15) and the resemblance of the story in its anthropomorphic conceptions to Ex. iv. 24-26 also speak for this author.

In ch. XXXII. vs. 1-3, 4a are universally recognized as J's on account of the 400 men (XXXII. 7) and שפחות. Vs. 4b, 5 and 11 are with equal unanimity and for obvious reasons assigned to E, whose narrative accordingly must have been quite brief.

After the theophany at Peniel Jacob meets Esau, "who fell on his neck and kissed him." Esau inquires concerning the women and children (and the present?) and is prevailed upon by Jacob to accept his gift.

Verses 18-20 are now recognized as E's with the exception of בכאו מפדן = R and with the addition of מצבה ויבן in ver. 20. The conjecture of Wellhausen (*Comp.*, p. 316) of שכם for שלם in v. 18 is attractive, but cf. XXVIII. 21, of which the narrative just ended of Jacob's meeting with Esau was the fulfillment.

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With regard to ch. XXXIV., Cornill (*Zeitschr. f. Alt. Wiss.* XI. 1) seems to have uttered the last word of analytical criticism; but his argument for connecting XXXV. 14 with ver. 8 is not convincing. If the verse was obnoxious to R we can understand his omitting it but not his appending it to P's Bethel story. In fact it is hard to find a reason for its introduction into a Bethel story unless it originally referred to the *maḡgebah* at Bethel. The clause "In the place where he spake with him" is to be eliminated from ver. 13 (cf. XVII. 22) as dittographic, but not from this verse, since here it is required to locate the *maḡgebah*. The *maḡgebah* then memorialized not a grave (ver. 8) but a theophany. מצבת אבן is remarkable, but cannot possibly be assigned to R who makes it his business rather to obliterate than to define the *maḡgeboth*. (Cf. XXXIII. 20). But why should it be deemed inappropriate in J? This author alludes indeed but rarely to *maḡgeboth*; still there is reason to think his narrative does contain allusions to them (cf. XXXI. 25, 49 E, Josh. IV. 3, 8); J hence might naturally introduce such an explanatory clause. But in E it is scarcely conceivable. I incline to think rather with Kuenen that we have here the relic of J's account of the theophany at Bethel, upon which Hos. XII. 5 and the narrative of P, XXXV. 9sq. are based, and from which the J elements of XXVII. 11sq. were taken. The narrative then stood originally at this place and comprised XXVIII. 13sq., 16, then XXXV. 14; XXVIII. 19.

The JE verses which follow, viz., 16-18, I judge to be from the same source and connection. "And they journeyed from Bethel" does not stand very well so directly after the command in ver. 1 (E) "Go up to Bethel and dwell (ישב) there." Ver. 17 seems to refer quite pointedly to xxx. 24 (J). We know from XXXIII. 2 and other passages that J must have related the birth of Benjamin after Jacob's return. We do not know this of E, but on the contrary P, vs. 25sq., describes it as taking place in Paddan-Aram. If P had any authority for this statement it can only have been E. This would, of course, exclude vs. 16-18

from this author. Vs. 18sq. on the contrary, are certainly E's (cf. "Jacob" with "Israel," v. 21, and the **מַצְבָּה**) but these verses may at least equally well be regarded as parallel to 16-19 (cf. **וּמַתָּה** ver. 9) Vs. 21sq. are of course to be assigned to J with all critics. We may then perhaps assume that J alone brought Israel on his journey toward the south, E regarding Bethel as his dwelling-place (cf. "Dothan" xxxvii. 17), J locating it at Hebron (xxxvii. 14).

In ch. xxxvii. a proper division of the material avoids all difficulty in the analysis. Vs. 12, 13a must be J's on account of "Israel;" 13b from **וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הֲנִי** and 14a should be assigned to E on account of the expression just quoted (cf. xxii. 1, 7, 11, etc.); 14b then joins without break upon 13a and ver. 18 follows with only the subject "his brethren" to be supplied in place of "they." Vs. 15-17 on the other hand follow just as naturally upon 14a, though perhaps we should supply **וַיִּשְׁלַחְהוּ** or the equivalent. The verses explain how Joseph comes to be so far from home as to be beyond help even when Reuben desires to restore him to his father. He was not originally expected to go far from home (Bethel?) but not finding his brethren in the vicinity he is directed to the comparatively distant Dothan. In J he is expected originally to go to a much greater distance.

The first clause of ver. 25 is essential to the story of E, for it explains how Joseph could be "stolen away" (xl. 15) by the Midianites without the knowledge of Reuben (ver. 29) or the brethren. While they are occupied with their noonday meal the Midianite merchantmen pass by unobserved, and hearing Joseph's cries take him off to Egypt.

There is no reason to suppose that the "pit" appeared at all in J's version. Judah interferes (ver. 21) with the plot of the brethren against Joseph, "delivers him out of their hand" protesting against their cruelty. While thus engaged in dispute they see a passing company of Ishmaelites and compromise by selling him into slavery. The explanatory clause in ver. 23 **אֶת-כְּתֹנֶת הַפָּסִים אֲשֶׁר עָלָיו** may be redactional or a fragment of J; but in neither case need the perfect continuity of E in vs. 10sq., 22-25a, 28a (to **הַבּוֹר**), be interrupted. The presence of **וַיַּעַל** in ver. 28 alongside of **וַיִּמְשְׁכוּ** is not a sufficient reason for assuming a parallel in J.

In ver. 32sq. **טָרַף טָרַף יֶסֶף וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ אֶת-כְּתֹנֶת הַפָּסִים** and **טָרַף טָרַף** are from J, the latter being a duplicate of the first part of the verse; this can only be E's, on account of ver. 20, while **טָרַף וּגִי** must be J's on account of xlv. 28. With the exception of **וַיִּמְכְּרוּ אֶת-יוֹסֵף לִישְׁמַעֲעֵלִים בַּעֲשָׂרִים כֶּשֶׁף** in ver. 28, of these two clauses in 32sq. and of ver. 34, vs. 28-36 are exclusively from E.

Few chapters afford so perfect an example as this of an analysis of JE to be carried through on really conclusive evidence. It is a pity to introduce confusion by a misplaced clause or two.

Gen. XLI. 30-XLII. 7 affords a very difficult problem to the analysis. There does not indeed seem to be adequate reason for dividing the two dreams of Pharaoh, of the cattle and the ears of corn, to J and E respectively. E has in chs. XXXVII. and XL. in each case a pair of dreams, and unless we are prepared to discard as redactional vs. 25sq. and 32 we must admit that this was here also the case. The middle clause of ver. 14, which presupposes J's form of the narrative (ch. XXXIX.), is, of course from J; and it is possible that here and there a word may have been taken by JE<sup>2</sup> from the parallel narrative which J doubtless afforded. Otherwise in vs. 1-30 I see no reason to suspect the presence of J. Ver. 31, however, is almost certainly a doublet of ver. 30, and כִּבְר is characteristic of J (cf. XII. 10; XLIII. 1; XLVII. 4, 13). Vs. 32sq. again are certainly from E (cf. XXII. 8), and the latter verse carries with it ver. 39 (cf. נֶבֶן וְחָקֵם ver. 33 and 39).

In 34sq. we begin to meet real perplexities. The first clause of v. 34 has no relation to the rest of the verse, and the three consecutive וַיֹּאמֶר פֶּ' אֵל יִסֵּף in vs. 39, 41, 44 can scarcely be original. The best clew for analysis which I have been able to find is XLVII. 13sq. (certainly J's) where a sentiment in decided contrast to the humane feeling of v. 36 comes into very plain view. To the author of XLVII. 13sq. the famine of the unfortunate peasants is purely an opportunity for the aggrandizement of Joseph and Pharaoh at their expense. His interest centers not at all in the "great deliverance" by which "much people are saved alive," XLV. 5b, 7; L. 20 (E), but in the shrewd corner in wheat effected by Joseph and Pharaoh, where Pharaoh furnishes the capital and Joseph the foresight. Through this combination a decidedly Jewish bargain is driven with the starving people. Vs. 35a, 36, according to this view, would belong to E; and ver. 35bc which is the statement of a plan for getting the crops under Pharaoh's control, and for keeping it "in the cities" whither in fact we find Joseph removing the people in XLVII. 21 when the famine comes on, must be J's. It seems in fact to be J who is impressed with the phenomenon of the congestion of the population of Egypt in the cities and the despotic landlord system. Again the tax of the fifth part in ver. 34 is conceived as a special rate enacted temporarily in years of extraordinary yield, to meet an imminent public danger. But in XLVII. 24 the "fifth" is a permanent tax, imposed in perpetuity after the years of plenty and famine are over, and not apparently regarded by the people as excessive (XLVII. 25). The difference is no doubt reconcilable, but makes the assignment of ver. 34 (except first clause) to E, more probable. After the עֵשׂ פִּרְעָה (=J) we should probably supply the word now apparently corrupted in v. 56, which LXX. render *σποβαλῶνες* and the revisers "storehouses." In place of ver. 36 should be perhaps some outline of the plan followed in XLVII. 13sq.

Ver. 37 might belong to either document, but ver. 38 is to be assigned to E on account of the prophetic character attributed to Joseph and the connection with

ver. 33, and this verse may carry the preceding with it. Vs. 39sq. are from the same writer (cf. v. 33 and observe אחרי instead of כִּי-עַל־כֵּן, רַק, ver. 40, although more frequent in J occurring also in E, Gen. xx. 11. Vs. 41-44 are manifestly parallel to 38-40, still we have twice consecutively וַיֹּאמֶר פֶּ' אֶל יֹסֵף, but there is not the same objection to assigning both of these to the same document as in the case of vs. 38 and 41, since here Pharaoh's address is interrupted by the relation of a number of actions. נָתַתִּי אֶת־ךְ might be cited in favor of identity of vs. 41 and 43 with ver. 33, but the expression is the most natural one for J to adopt as well as E, for the expression of his thought; and the resemblance of this expression is more than outweighed by the word connected with it, רָאָה, which occurs nowhere in E, but in J repeatedly; cf. Gen. xxvii. 27; xxxi. 50; Ex. xxxiii. 13. Again it is in J that Joseph is made to "run" from the dungeon into Pharaoh's presence and the transformation of his dress and personal appearance has therefore more significance in this narrative. Finally it is J, never E, who take a special interest in priests and priestly connections for his characters. (Cf. ver. 45 [J]; xlvii. 22, 26; Ex. ii. 16sq.; xxi. 22, 24.) The garment of byssus with which Joseph is clothed is a *priestly* garment.

Ver. 44 follows better, as has been shown, after 43 than after 39sq. and its hyperbolic figure is quite characteristic of J (cf. Ex. x. 26; xi. 7). Ver. 45 must be J's as the mention of an alliance of this kind is highly improbable in P and the variants Potiphar (E, xxxvii. 36) and Potipherah can scarcely have stood for different persons in the same writing. Ver. 45c seems to connect itself with the narrative of P which here (in 46a) comes in with its usual data of age. Ver. 45c is in any case parallel to 46b which has the phraseology of J. Ver. 46b in turn connects immediately with ver. 48, where the plan of collecting food "in the cities" is followed, which appears also in v. 35 and xlvii. 21 (J). Ver. 47 thus falls into place in the narrative of E after ver. 40, and it does not appear that anything is missing. Ver. 49 affords difficulty as חָרָל speaks strongly for J; but the verse itself seems to be a doublet of 48 and the expression "as the sand on the seashore" is more characteristic of E. (Cf. I Kgs. iv. 20, 29 E, with Gen. xiii. 16; xxviii. 14, J). On the whole the verse (or a part?) may better be assigned to E; likewise 50a, 51-53 on account of אֱלֹהִים. Ver. 54a stands connected with 55, 56sq. where the thought stands in strange contrast with 54b, this latter regarding the plenty of the people as Joseph's triumph, and vs. 54a, 55, 56b, making their necessity his opportunity. In the portions omitted in the extrication of this J element, viz., vs. 53, 54b, 56a, 57 = E, the contrast is between all other countries and Egypt. In J the contrast is between the helpless distress of the starving people and Joseph's overflowing granaries. We are not informed of the condition of other countries until xlvii. 5; xlvii. 13-15, where we learn—quite unnecessarily if xli. 54b, 56a, 57 have already stated the case—that the famine extended to Canaan as well as Egypt.



In XLI. 30-57 we have therefore a tolerably complete narrative in each of the prophetic documents. In XLII. 1-7 we have again only fragments of J, apparently because of the close similarity of the two sources at this point. The superfluous **וַיֹּאמֶר** of ver. 2; ver. 4b (cf. ver. 38 and XLIV. 29); ver. 5 (cf. "Israel" with "Jacob" in vs. 1-4); the middle clause of ver. 6 (Joseph as corn-dealer, cf. XLI. 56, rather than governor of the land), and ver. 7 (except the clause "and spake roughly to them," displaced from ver. 9; cf. ver. 30 sq., E, with XLIII. 7; XLIV. 18 sqq., J) are the only traces of J suggested; but these suffice to give the substance of the subordinate source. The writer acknowledges a disposition to overlook the **וַיֹּאמֶר** of ver. 2 as insignificant, and to consider 4b an explanatory gloss derived from ver. 38, ver. 5 being the real beginning of J's narrative. The absence of Benjamin requires no special explanation after XXXV. 16 sqq. (cf. XLIV. 20) and ver. 5b gives the occasion of the brother's visit in a way that seems to exclude any other, 5a joining directly upon XLI. 56. Ver. 11a may also be a trace of the conversation referred to by XLIII. 3 sqq. and XLIV. 18 sqq., as it seems to be a doublet (cf. ver. 13) and to be excluded by the report of ver. 31 sq. The contrast in conception of J and E in this passage is accordingly: In J, the famine invading Canaan the sons of Israel come among the rest of Joseph's customers. He knows them, but contents himself with friendly inquiries; finally, however, insisting as a condition of further purchases that they shall bring Benjamin. In E, all countries except Egypt being famine-stricken, Jacob despatches the ten brethren to Egypt to "the governor of the land," who is Joseph, to obtain permission "to traffic in the land" (ver. 34). In the presence of the governor they prostrate themselves, which recalls to Joseph his dreams (XXXVII. 6-10); he accuses them and treats them as spies, but finally releases all but Simeon, who remains a hostage for the bringing of Benjamin.

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The passage XLVII. 13-26 is generally ascribed to J, "with traces of E." I have been unable to discover any trace of E, but on the contrary am at a loss to perceive any reason for doubting the unity of the section. In vs. 13-15 the seat of the famine is "Egypt and Canaan" as in J in XLI. sq. and ver. 4, not "all the earth" as in E, XLI. 54b, 56a, 57. Joseph is the dealer in grain personally, as in XLII. 6. The people of Egypt are starving, contrary to E's representation, XLV. 18 sqq. The priests are favored, and in ver. 26 an antiquarian interest appears as the occasion for the narrative. Cf. II. 24; XXXII. 33.

The language bears the plainest marks of J, **כָּבֵד**, ver. 18; **הַנִּמְצָא**, 14; **תָּם**, 15, 18, *horses*, 17; **קָעָה**, 21; and **יָדוּת**, ver. 24, are considered by Dillmann characteristic. **מִקְנֵה הַצֹּאן וּמִקְנֵה הַבָּקָר**, ver. 17, is found only in J, Gen. XXVI. 14. **נָהַל** *ibid.* only in Gen. XXXIII. 14. Ver. 21b recalls XIX. 4.



גבול מצרים is characteristic of J (cf. Ex. vii, 27; x. 14, 19). רק, vs. 22, 26, is much more frequent in J than in E. מצא חן בעיני, ver. 25, occurs in J *passim*, in E nowhere. The mere occurrence of חזק, ver. 20, after כבר, ver. 18, is entirely without weight against such an array.

In other chapters of Gen. xxxii.-L. the analysis of the present writer does not substantially differ from that of Kautzsch and Socin.

## ANNEXION IN ASSYRIAN.

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In Assyrian, as in every newly discovered literature, the time and attention of scholars has hitherto been chiefly devoted to an etymological study of the language. This has borne its fruits and now we are able to read the inscriptions with comparative ease and certainty. The recent valuable publications of texts have made the more important annals accessible to all. However, before the literature can be rightly estimated as such, the grammar of the language must be scientifically studied. Thus far no conclusive or exhaustive work has been done along this line. Prof. Delitzsch, in his recent *Assyrian Grammar*, claims only to present the latest results of research. With many of his conjectural conclusions, in view of the facts of the language, it will be found necessary radically to disagree.

Under the direction of Prof. William R. Harper and Dr. Robert Francis Harper, an attempt has been made by three or four of the graduate students of Yale to make a thorough study of some of the leading grammatical questions in Assyrian. To avoid the errors incidental to a merely cursory investigation, every case under each form occurring in the leading inscriptions of a certain period has been collected as a basis for inductions.\* This makes it possible to treat each point historically and to note its growth, and thus assign each new development to its true position. This knowledge of the order of historical development in turn enables the students to determine the characteristics of each inscription and to ascertain what forms or usages are most prominent in any given period.

The following inductions are based upon a two-fold classification of the examples of annexion (with the first member phonetically written) occurring in the historical inscriptions found in Volumes I. and II. of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*. Though it has been found necessary constantly to correct the transliteration from the original cuneiform, yet this has proved the most convenient basis of work and reference. The first classification is based upon the form assumed by the first and second members of the annexion, and it includes the cases of *ša* employed to indicate the construct relation; the second upon the syntactical

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\* Since the beginning of this study, works on Greek grammar, based on the same methods of investigation have appeared indicating that the classicists are beginning to appreciate the need and value of such conclusive work.

force thus expressed. In addition to these, all peculiar forms and cases are collated under a special classification. This work has been supplemented by a discussion of doubtful cases in the class-room.

I. FORMS EMPLOYED TO EXPRESS ANNEXION.—A. THE FIRST MEMBER ENDING IN *I*.

That there was a primitive Semitic noun declension with a nominative in *u*, a genitive in *i*, and an accusative in *a* is now generally admitted. That this is retained in Assyrian, although with an infinite variety of exceptions, appears also to be true.\* The Arabic not only retains these case-endings in the absolute, but also regularly with the first member of the construct. Accepting these premises, the early history of the form is clear. It is the remnant of the primitive Semitic genitive ending frequently retained in the construct after the analogy of the Arabic.

The use of the first member in *i*:

1) As to case—historical development—two questions immediately arise. (1) Is the *i* retained with the first member only when it stands in the genitive? (2) If not, are there any indications of such a restricted use in the early Assyrian? The following table based on the total number of cases of the first member in *i* answers these questions:

TABLE I.

	Genitive.	Nomina- tive.	Accusa- tive.	Total Nom. and Acc.	Totals.
First member in Oldest					
Inscriptions.....	8	3	..	3	11
Tiglath-pileser.....	16	1	13	14	30
Ašûrnâsirpal.....	60	12	20	32	92
Shalmaneser IV.....	50	11	16	27	77
Šamši-Rammân.....	14	5	2	7	21
	148			83	
Tiglath-pileser III.....	15	2	8	10	25
Sargon.....	27	10	25	35	62
Sennacherib.....	22	4	23	27	49
Esarhaddon.....	23	1	7	8	31
Ašûrbânipal.....	42	6	18	24	66
	129			104	

\* Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, § 66.

From the above table it is evident (1) that the use of *i* with the first member is by no means confined to the cases in which this stands in the genitive. But (2) there are plain indications of a tendency to employ this form in the earlier inscriptions more commonly when this first member is in the genitive than when in the nominative and accusative. Combining the results in Table I, the total number of cases in which *i* is employed in the genitive in the inscriptions of the old Assyrian kingdom is 148; in other cases (nominative and accusative), 83. In the new Assyrian kingdom the total of the genitives is 129; other cases, 104. Comparing these totals, we see that in the first kingdom the ratio is about seven to four, while in the latter it is about six to five. If only a few inscriptions were thus compared the value of the results might be questioned; but being based on such a large number of cases (464) they are thus raised above the caprice of one author or subject, and any induction based upon them must be considered reasonably reliable. Although it may seem at first glance that the difference in the ratio is small, still when the large number of cases, in which the form absolutely demands the first member with final *i*, has been studied the variation will appear the more remarkable.

Referring again to the table, we observe that in the oldest inscriptions only three out of the eleven examples in *i* are not in the genitive. In TP. I. there is a marked increase due in part to the recurrence in the accusative of *libbî* (which necessarily takes *i*) as the first member. In Ašurn., Shalm. II. and Šamši-Rammân, *i* with the genitive is nearly twice as common as with all other cases.

From the above facts the inferences can fairly be drawn (1) that this *i* is a remnant of the primitive genitive case-ending; (2) that in the earlier inscriptions a memory of this primitive use remains; but (3) that at an early period this lost, to a large extent, its original force as the sign of the genitive; and hence is the vowel which appears most commonly as the final vowel of the first member, when one is necessarily required. By this early transference to other cases, *i* appears to have secured the priority of possession so that, next to those in which the final vowel of the first member is elided, these cases are most frequent in the inscriptions. (4) That in the later inscriptions *i* is employed quite irrespective of the case of the first member. The ratio which exists between the examples of *i* with a first member in the genitive or in the nominative or accusative, I should say from general observation, represents the usual ratio between the frequency of occurrence of these cases in the absolute; and hence we are not justified in saying that *i* is still employed oftener in the genitive because of the influence of that case.

2) Used interchangeably with other parallel forms.

The interchangeable use of exactly parallel forms, as far as noun-root and meaning is concerned, throws much light upon the freedom in the choice of the ending of the first member.

(a) Variants. Ašurn. II. 118 ana tu-ru gimilli or ana tu-ri gi milli; Senn. II. A, ina kirbi maḥāzi. B, ina kirib maḥāzi.

(b) Parallel phrases. Ašurn. II. 23, ina limi Ašūrdin; Shalm. I. 45, ina limu Dān-Ašūr; Shalm. I. 27, ša šulmi šamši; TP. VI. 44, ša šalamu šamši; Shalm. Mon. I. 18, bēlūti napḥar mātāti; Sarg. 2, 45, bēlūt Aššūr; Šam. Ram III. 8, tibi taḥāziia; TP. III. 18, tib taḥāziia; Sarg. 3, 135, ma-a-ti (amelu) Lulī; Sarg. 2, 39, ma-at Aššūr.

Three words, used in the first member, are found with both *i* and *u* retained; twenty with *i* or the final vowel elided. Further, two forms of the same word are found in the same inscription. From these facts it is to be inferred (1) that, while in the great majority of words the construct singular form has become fixed, yet in these few cases there is a wavering between the form with the final vowel elided and that with *i* or *u* retained; (2) that all forms conveyed the same shade of meaning and were considered equally correct; (3) that, therefore, in the case of these twenty-three words the form appearing depended upon the style or choice of the different scribes.

8) First member in *i*: when employed. From the preceding discussion it has appeared that there are certain cases in which the use of *i* depends upon the choice of the author. Is this the only reason or are there regular laws governing its use?

From a study of the cases found in the inscriptions, it appears that *i* is commonly found as the final vowel of the first member:

(a) When the first member is derived from a root whose third radical is weak, nominative in *ū*. Ašurn. I. 31, ina pi-i ilāni; Shalm. II. naši ḥatti; Sarg. 2, 6, li' kāl malki; Esarh. A. III. 49, na-gi-i (mātu) Bāzi; Ašurb. VIII. 26, ina ma-li-i libbāti. This is the only reason suggested by Prof. Delitzsch in his *Assyrian Grammar*\* for the appearance of *i*. As a matter of fact this explains but a small proportion of the total number of cases. Tig.-Pil. VII. 50, na-aḥ ḥatti might be cited as an exception to the rule, but, with a few exceptions, it is practically universal.

(b) When a final vowel is necessarily retained, or otherwise two consonants would stand at the end of a word (which is contrary to Assyrian usage).

(1) Feminine and abstract nouns formed by the addition of the affix *tu* directly to the stem.† Tig.-Pil. I. 10, ina tukulti Ašūr; IV. 89, šakalti ummānātišu; Sarg. 3, 95, šalipti bēlusu; Senn. IV. 21, si-it-ti nīšē; Esarh. A. VI. 3, siḫirti ēkalli.

(2) Final radical reduplicated.

\* §72.

† Cf. Müller, *Grammatische Bemerkungen zu den Annalen Assurnasirpal*, Z.A. I. 4, 358.

Tig.-Pil. IV. 36, našaddi Ašûr; VI. 93, libbi ilâtîšunu; Ašurn. I. 26, melamme bêlûtišu; Šam. Ram. I. 8, allalli ilâni; Sarg. 3, 118, turri gimillišu.

This cause explains nearly half (186 out of a total of 364) of the cases in *i*.

The appearance of *i* instead of *u* or *a* in these instances in which a vowel is required must be regarded as one of the facts of the language, which in turn may be due to the early transference of *i* as the final vowel of the first member in other cases than the genitive, or to the attraction of a preceding or following *i*. It must be placed side by side with the preference shown for the genitive ending outside of the construct.

(c) Final *i* attracted by a preceding *i* and retained for the sake of euphony. Tig.-Pil. VI. 41, šidi ħuršâni; Šam. Ram. III. 8, tibi taĥâziġa; Sarg. 2, 68, zikri abulli; Senn. II. 11, gimri mâtišu; Ašurb. I. 31, nirmiki Nabû; I. 84, namriri Ašûr u Ištar.

Unfortunately the subject of euphony in Assyrian has not received any careful or scientific study. But judging from the results which have already been obtained from this source in explaining etymological changes, it is reasonable to predict that it will prove a valuable field of research. In Hebrew this principle exercises an important influence, especially in determining verbal forms. The presence of a large number of onomatopoetic words in the Semitic languages is an index pointing in the same direction. In view of these and other considerations, we have reasonable cause to anticipate the influence of euphonic principles in regulating the ending of the first member.

From the phonetic law discovered by Professor Haupt,\* it appears, that *a* or *o* is changed to *e* or *i* after a preceding *i* or *e* or with a following *i*. With this must be compared the insertion of a similar vowel when segholate nouns stand in the first member of an annexion. From kalbu, kalab; from kirbu, kirib; from šulmu, šulum. The underlying principle in each case seems to be that of similarity, i. e., to have a vowel of a word preceded or followed by a similar vowel wherever this is possible. It is reasonably certain that this principle explains the presence of *i* in the cases under consideration. Add the illustrations of this same case under *u* and *a* which will be studied later and the evidence is conclusive.

(d) When the first number is in the genitive. Šam. Ram. I. 5, bâni bît Ašûr; Tig.-Pil. V. 48, ina tarši (m) Suġi; Ašurn. Mon. 83, ina šarrâti pânišu; Shalm. 27, ša šulmi Šamši.

That the *i* of the first number still bears some relation to its primitive use as the sign of the genitive, at least in the inscriptions of the old Assyrian kingdom, has already been shown. And even if the *i* of the genitive has largely lost its

\* Presented by Prof. Delitzsch in his *Assyrian Grammar*, § 32-34.



significance in annexion, the fact that to a certain extent it still retains its original force in other constructions cannot fail sometimes to make its influence felt in determining the ending of the first member. Therefore, it is not surprising to find a few cases in which the presence of *i* is explicable only for the reason that the first member is in the genitive. The retention of *i* can often be explained by more than one cause. For example Tig.-Pil. I. 13, *rišti* (gen.) *ilâni*. The *i* may be retained in accordance with the euphonic principle of similarity, because it is added to the nominal stem or because the first member is in the genitive. It is not improbable that the union of two or more causes led to the use of *i*.

#### Unexplained cases.

Ašurn. I. 80, *pulḥi melamme*; Shalm. 71, *tanâti Ašûr*; Shalm. Mon. II. 68 *nabli mulmul*i; Ašurb. IV. 35, *ḡurdi ilâni*.

(1) *Pulḥi melamme*. Why does this frequently recurring phrase always employ *pulḥi* instead of the corresponding *puluḥ*? It might be said that the phrase has become petrified. This is very probably the case; but, I think, that we can go back of this and find the cause in the principle of euphony. The phrase has become stereotyped, expressing an idea of terror and greatness in which the sound plays a very important part. There is a rhythmic sound in this form which is absent in *puluḥ melamme*. The following *i*'s or *e*'s not improbably exert an influence in retaining the *i* of the first number. (2) So also the principle of rhythm may explain the phrase *nabli mulmul*i (both words ending in *li*). (3) *Tanâti Ašûr* is doubtless for the regular form *tanatti*, which is classified under (b) (1). (4) *Ḳurdi ilâni* has a parallel form *ḡarrad*.

Thus we see that of the 464 cases of the first member retaining *i* only two or three examples cannot be explained by these four simple laws. Of these (a) and (b) are of all but universal application, while (c) and (d) depend in their use to a certain extent upon the particular phrase and the option or style of the author. Hence it may be said that in general the Assyrian exhibits a remarkable regularity in its use of this form of annexion.

In Hebrew, with the exception of the annexion contained in a few proper names which thus retain in petrified form the primitive usage, the cases, in which *i* is still retained with the first member in annexion, are all explained by (a) or (b) i. e. feminine nouns formed by the affixed ך or nouns whose third radical is weak.

נִגְבְּתִי לִיָּהּ\*      מְלֹאֲתִי מִשֶּׁפֶּט †      אֲנִי אֶתְנִי ‡

This is what would naturally be anticipated, for these laws are the most arbitrary. Thus the intermediate position which the Assyrian occupies between the Arabic and the Hebrew is indicated and the steps of development by which the latter has advanced made evident.

B. The first member in the singular ending in *u*.

\* Gen. 31:39.

† Isa. 1:21.

‡ Gen. 49:11.

Are these apparent cases of the first member ending in *u* properly constructs? Or are they only "cases of the careless omission of *ša*?" If-so, we would expect to find *ša* generally inserted when the same phrases occur elsewhere. An actual comparison of all the cases in *u* and those with *ša* inserted demonstrates that in only one case out of the 113 is a parallel expression found with *ša* inserted; Ašurb. V. 115, *ina naḡê ša Ḫunnir*, where as will be shown later, the form with *ša* is the more proper. Hence, plainly, the cases cannot be explained on the ground that *ša* is omitted, for under the same conditions all authors fail to insert it.

Is this, then, a careless writing for the more common forms with the final vowel elided or with *i* retained? Apparently favoring this view might be cited (a) variant readings and (b) parallel expressions in *u* and *i*, previously noted; (c) parallel expressions in *u* and the final vowel elided. Tig. Pil. VI. 44, *šalamu šamši*; Ram. V. 30, *šulum šarrûtišu*; Shalm. I. 27, *šulme šamši*; Ašurn. II. 118, *ana turu gimilli*; Shalm. I. 75, *ana tu-ur gimilli*; Sarg. 3, 188, *aššu turri gimilli*.

From these examples it might be urged that the author of the variant reading, appreciating the error of the form in *u*, corrects this; that the existence of the otherwise parallel expressions in *i*, or with final vowel elided, indicates that the form with *u* is an error of the scribe.

In answer to these claims the following arguments may be presented: (1) The large number of cases in *u* (113). Even though the Assyrian writers were very careless in their use of case-endings—a statement which the study of the cases in *i* did not support—it would be difficult to believe that such a large number of cases were mere errors. Furthermore it is to be noted that the forms with *u* occur in about the same proportion throughout the inscriptions, and hence are not the errors of one or two careless scribes. (2) Connected with this is the fact that certain phrases in *u*, as *ina limu*, *ina šurru*, run through all the inscriptions, thus indicating that there is a uniformity in their use and that it is not due to mere accident. (3) The examples cited to prove that they are exceptions or errors might be used equally as well to show that they are perfectly regular. The variants and parallel expressions indicate that both forms equally obtained; and that either could be employed as best conduced to the euphony or the choice of the author. As has been shown, the cases in *i* present an exact analogy. (4) The number of cases, in which these parallel expressions employ *u*, equals and sometimes exceeds those in which *i* or the form with final vowel elided appear. If the former were errors or exceptions they naturally would be much less common. (5) Finally the forms in *u* are employed in the same constructions with cases of annexion in which the final vowel of the first member is elided. Tig.-Pil. VIII. 39, *li-ta-at kurdiia irnintu tamhariia....altur*, *the might of my heroism and the victory of my battle....I inscribed*; Sarg. 3, 112, *lâ*

adir zikri ilâni kâpidu limneti dâbib şalipti, *who did not fear the renown of the gods, who devised evil, who planned destruction.* Esarh. A. VI. 54, naşir kibsi şarrûtiia muhadû kabattiia, *protecting the footsteps of my majesty, causing my spirit to rejoice.*

As a result of these considerations, I would question the statement of Prof. Delitzsch,\* that the forms in *u* are exceptions to the general rule; and I must rather regard them as regular forms on a par with those in *i*. Like the latter, it is doubtless a remnant of the early Semitic nominal inflection, which still obtains side by side with the more common form of annexion, in which the final vowel of the first member is dropped. Hence its title to the field is good, which it still holds, although greatly encroached upon by the other forms.

2. Use of the first member in *u*. (1) As to case—historical development.

Does the first member take *u*, as in the Arabic, only when, by virtue of its construction, it is in the nominative case? If not, are there any indications of this primitive use? The following table presents the facts.

TABLE II.

First Member in	Nomina- tive.	Genitive.	Accusa- tive.	Total Gen. and Acc.	Total in <i>u</i> .
Tiglath-Pileser I.....	16	3	1	4	20
Ašûrnâşirpal.....	16		3	3	19
Shalmaneser.....	10	1	1	2	12
Şamši-Rammân.....	1				1
	43			9	
Tiglath-Pileser III.....	2	1		1	3
Sargon.....	12	2	3	5	17
Sennacherib.....	7	1	7	8	15
Esarhaddon.....	7		4	4	11
Ašûrbânipal.....	5	3	7	10	15
	33			28	113

Consulting Table II. it appears that in the early inscriptions the cases in which *u* is employed with the first member in the nominative are far in the ascendency. In course of time the lines approach each other, until in Sennacherib, *u* is used more frequently in the genitive and accusative than in the nominative. There is a slight reversal to earlier usage in Esarhaddon, but in Ašurbanipal the former is twice as common as the latter. Combining the results of Table II. it appears that

\* Gram., §72, a, note.

in the inscriptions of the old Assyrian kingdom *u* was employed nearly five times as often, where the first member stood in the nominative, as in both the genitive and accusative, while in the new Assyrian kingdom the relative frequency is about the same. The evidence, therefore, is conclusive that in the early inscriptions the primitive case-usage of *u* was, with a certain degree of care, observed, but that in the later inscriptions it follows in the course of development, taken by the ending *i* much earlier, and came, at least, in the last inscription (Ašurbanipal) to be employed quite irrespective of the case of the first member. Such indications of development in turn point back to an original usage resembling that of the Arabic.

2. First member with final *u*—when employed. Classifying the examples it appears that *u* is retained.

(a) When the third radical is weak, nominative in *u*.

Tig.-Pil. I. 6, šaḫu-u namriri; Ašurn. I. 40, na-bu-u šumja; Šam. Ram. I. 27, rē'ū ašrāti.

With but one exception (and that in a late inscription), these cases of *u* thus retained are in the nominative. Comparing this with previous results, it appears that sometimes in the nominative and regularly in other cases this *u* is changed to *i*. This rule explains a large proportion of the examples in *u*.

(b) When attracted by a preceding similar vowel, i. e., retained for the sake of euphony.

Tig.-Pil. I. 62, ina šurru šarrūtiia; Ram. N. 2, 7, ša šulmu šamši; Senn. III. 16, miṭṭušu zu-uḫ šipī; Esarh. A. IV. 25, puluḫtu rašūbat Ašūr; Ašurb. I. 21, šarrātu (m) Aššūr; IV. 68, limuttu pišunu.

This principle explains more than half the cases in *u*. It confirms and, in turn, its validity is established, by the analogy of the examples in which *i* is retained in accord with the same law.

(c) Because the first member stands in the nominative.

Tig.-Pil. II. 38, pulḫu adiru melam Ašūr; IV. 41, šamšu gimir kâl šarrâni.

That the memory of the primitive use of *u* regularly with the nominative still exercised a considerable influence has been shown.

The presence of *u* (as in the case of *i*) may be explained in many instances by more than one of these principles. Very possibly it was their combined influence which finally resulted in the retention of *u* instead of some other more common form.

Of the total 113 cases, only six are not explained by these three simple principles. If the use of *u* with the first member is due merely to carelessness on the part of the scribes, we would surely expect to find many examples in which the retention of *u* was entirely arbitrary, and not explicable by any general principle of the language. This fact therefore confirms the statement that the form with *u*

is a regular means of indicating annexion. In Hebrew almost all traces of the primitive usage, of which the Arabic is the living representative, have disappeared. The few examples which do remain (as מֵימֵינוּ חֵיתוֹ אֶרֶץ) are however sufficient plainly to indicate that this language has passed through the same stage of development as the Assyrian. Traces are even more common in the Phœnician proper names of this primitive use of *u* as the ending of the first member in annexion,† מעלתובעל, עזרובעל, חררומתים.

(e) First member ending in *a*.

The following cases of the first member ending in *a* are found in the inscriptions.

Shalm. 165, Šam. Ram. II. 44, ištu pana namurrat kakkija; Tig.-Pil. III. 2, 13, eli birina (mat.) Hilummi; 2, 83, ekallât (pl.) ħudâti na-ša-a ħegalli kariba šarri; Sarg. 3, 143, Esarh. A. VI. 15, kala rik-ki; IV. 41, mala libbi.

It is a striking fact that out of the more than two thousand cases of annexion examined only six possible examples (representing a total of eight cases), take *a* with the first member.

In view of this fact we shall be obliged to modify the statement of Prof. Delitzsch‡ that "it is an extremely common thing to find the first member retaining the case ending...*a* without *ša* appearing before the second member," and say that *a* as the final vowel of the first member is almost unknown.

No stronger proof that the Assyrian proceeded along definite lines in the development of the ending of the first member is needed than this practically total absence of examples of *a* retained by the first member. We have already seen how the Assyrian retained the genitive ending *i* very commonly and the nominative in *u* only less frequently; but the accusative ending in *a* appears early to have fallen into disuse. In this the Assyrian stands in direct antithesis with the Ethiopic,|| which latter retains only the *a* as the sign of the construct state. On the other hand, this usage binds the Assyrian by one more link to the Hebrew where all traces of this ending have disappeared except before certain pronominal suffixes.

D. First member retaining mimmation.

Esarh. A. II. 8, ina iršitim (m.) Ĥubušna; IV. 12, 23; Ašurb. IV. 85, napištim (amelu) nakrûtiĭa.

In the earlier inscriptions these are regular constructs with first member ending in *i*. Cf. Sarg. 348, napišti mâtišunu. In the later inscriptions, how-

\* Gen. 1:24.

† Ps. 114:8.

‡ Cf. Schröder, § 77. The long *u* in the examples probably comes from the lengthening of an originally short *u*.

§ Assyr. Gram., § 72, note.

|| Cf. Philippi, *Weesen und Ursprung des Status Constructus*, p. 153, Dillmann, 154, b, a.



ever, certain words, as *iršitim*, *damiḫtim*, *napištīm* and *tāmtīm*, appear to have retained this form on all occasions. Hence when these words stand as the first member in annexion, the mimmation is still retained.

It is to be noted that these examples with the first member with mimmation do not appear until Esarh. and Ašurb. and hence are characteristic of these late inscriptions.

E. First member retaining the full plural ending. By a line of proof somewhat similar to that followed with the singular ending *u* it might be demonstrated that the full plural ending is sometimes regularly retained. Assuming this let us endeavor to determine the reasons for this retention.

A study of the cases shows that the endings retained are:

(1) Masculine plural ending in *e* (often *i*). Tig.-Pil. III. 83, *ušši bīt Anu*; Sarg. 3, 122, *a-di-e ilāni*; 3, 165, *da-ad-me mâtītân*.

These are by far the most common cases in which the plural ending is retained. This retention of *e* appears to be due to the same causes operative in the case of the singular ending *i*. (a) With nouns whose third radical is weak. (b) With nouns which otherwise would end in two consonants. The retention of this ending in an annexion must, therefore, be considered perfectly regular.

(2) Masculine plural in *-âni*, Sarg. 3, 9, *šarrâni limetišu*. These cases are very rare. In nine cases out of ten *ša* is inserted after this ending. No examples occur of the elision of the final vowel of this ending. In view of these facts, these cases must be regarded as exceptions.

(3) Plural in *u*. Tig.-Pil. III. 3, 7, *zu-u-ku šêpâ(?)*

(4) Plural in *-ûti*. Sarg. 2, 75, *ašibûti šame*; Ašurb. VI. 71, *la pâli-ḫûti Ašûr u Ištar*.

(5) Feminine plural in *âti* (*ati*, *iti*). Shalm. Mon. II. 60, *epšeti irnin-tiia*; Šam. Ram. IV. 29, *šalmati ḫuradišun'u*; IV. 25, *ana ummânâti mâtija*.

The cases under (4) and (5) are rare compared with those with the first vowel elided. Even some of these examples have parallels with the latter form. While there are too many to be classed as errors yet they are the exception rather than the rule. Thus examples are found of all the plural endings retained except the rare *-a* and the doubtful *-ân*; but the ending *ê* is the only one which can be said to be regularly retained in annexion.

F. Final vowel of the first member dropped.

We are now ready to consider the law laid down by Prof. Delitzsch. "When with a noun in the singular, there is joined a substantive in the genitive (the so-called nexus of the construct state), the first member of the nexus drops the mimmation and also in the nominative and accusative the vowel of the case-ending .... the *i* of the genitive of the first member is retained."<sup>\*</sup> Is this dropping of the

\* §72 *Assyr. Gram.*, a, 2, 1).



case-ending confined to the nominative and accusative, and is the *i* of the genitive always retained?

It has been shown that there is a gradual breaking away from the original use of *i* with the first member only when this is in the genitive; so that in the later inscriptions, it is used quite irrespective of the case. Hence since this use of *i* with the first member of the genitive is more common in the earlier inscriptions, the rule laid down by Prof. Delitzsch will hold true here if anywhere. That there may be sufficient data upon which to base a safe inference, I have taken Tig.-Pil., the largest of the earlier inscriptions. Of the one hundred cases in which the first member stands in the genitive singular, eighty-four drop the final vowel of the first member and only sixteen retain it, or less than one-fifth of the whole number. In view of these facts the error of Prof. Delitzsch's statement is apparent.

Although there are indications that in the earlier inscriptions the case still had some influence upon the ending of the first member, yet the instances really bear such a small proportion to the total number of cases of annexion that the general principle may be laid down that the final vowel of the first member is elided irrespective of case. Since the elision of the final vowel does not depend upon the case of the first member, the rule governing this must be sought elsewhere. A study of the cases shows that nouns constituting the first member fall under one of three divisions. (1) Those always eliding the final vowel. (2) Those sometimes retaining and sometimes eliding it. (3) Those which never drop the final vowel. Omitting the different classes of nouns which are included under each division and combining the results, it appears that the elision or retention of the final vowel of the first member depends, not upon its vowel formation, but upon the character of its third radical or the affix, if any, which is employed in its formation.

The final vowel of the first member is regularly elided (1) in the singular. (a) With masculine nouns whose third radical is strong, but not reduplicated. Tig.-Pil. I. 3, *gimir annunati*; IV. 14, *ziḱip patri*; Šam. Ram. IV. 25, *ḱitrub ummânâtîia*.

(b) With feminine nouns formed by the affix *-ati*. Tig.-Pil. I. 37, *kibrat arba'i*; Šalm. I. 16, *kiššat niši*; Ašurb. IV. 99, (*ilu*) *šarrat kidmuri*.

(c) With abstract nouns formed by the affix *-ûtu* (*ûti*). Tig.-Pil. I. 21, *šarru-ut mâṭ Bêli*; Ašurb. I. 111, *tibu-ut Tarḱû*.

(d) With feminine nouns formed by the affix *-tu*, added to a root third radical weak. Šam. Ram. IV. 2, *ina birit ṣaddi*; Senn. VI. 64, *tarbit birkîia*; Tig.-Pil. V. 54, *sitit ummânâtîšunu*.

(2) In the plural.

(a) With the ending *ûtu* (*ûti*). Tig.-Pil. VI. 85, *nakrût Ašûr*; Senn. VI. 30, *âlikût maḥri*.

(b) With the feminine ending *âti* (often attracted by a preceding *i* to *itu*, *iti*). Tig.-Pil. I. 8, *šalpat âbi*; Tig.-Pil. VII. 51, *epšet kâtišu*; Esarh. A. IV. 55, *šallat nakire*.

Of the above rules, (1), (b), (c) and (d) are practically universal in their application. To (1) (a) there are a few exceptions, especially those words which have parallel forms. Only 18 exceptions to (2) (b) and 8 to (2) (a) are found in the inscriptions. In view of the fact that both of these plural endings are very common, it is plain that the rule is all but universal.

A study of the cases in which the final vowel is dropped in turn confirms the conclusions reached respecting the cases in which the final vowel is retained. Combining these we see that the final vowel of the first member is retained (1) in the singular.

(a) Always with feminine nouns formed by adding *-tu* directly to the stem, provided the third radical is strong.

(b) Always with nouns whose final radical is re-duplicated.

(c) Generally with masculine nouns whose third radical is weak.

(2) In the plural.

(a) Always with *ê* (*i*).

(b) Always with *âni*.

The insertion of a short vowel before the final consonant of the first member. An examination of the cases makes it evident that this short vowel appears with but two classes of nouns.

(1) Nouns with but one short vowel, or segholates.

(a) With *a*, Tig.-Pil. III., 38, *ḫabal targigi*.

(b) With *i*, Ašurb. V. 40, *kirib (mâtu) Êlamti*.

(c) With *u*, Tig.-Pil. III. 1, 11, *puḫur nišišu*.

[To be continued in the next number of HEBRAICA.]

## ▷BOOK NOTICE◁

### THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES.

One of the most delightful of literary discoveries recently made is that of the lost "Apology of the Philosopher Aristides to the Emperor Hadrian," in a Syriac version, by Professor J. Rendel Harris. This he found in the library of the Monastery of St. Catharine at Mount Sinai, two years ago, in their Syriac Manuscript No. 18. The manuscript is written in fine old Estranghela, apparently of the seventh century, and is a collection of treatises and extracts, chiefly ethical. Its contents are as follows: History of the Egyptian Hermits, containing matter in common with (or being a part of) the *Liber Paradisi*, of which so many more or less identical Greek copies occur (93 folios); The Apology of Aristides (13 folios); A Discourse of Plutarch on the subject of a man's being assisted by his enemy (7 folios); A second Discourse of the same Plutarch on Asceticism (9 folios); A Discourse of Lucius (Lucianus) on the impropriety of receiving slander against our friends (8 folios); A Discourse by a philosopher *De Anima* (8 folios); The Counsel of Theano, a female philosopher of the school of Pythagoras (2 folios); A collection of the Sayings of the Philosophers (6 folios); A First Discourse in explanation of Koheleth, by Mar John the Monk for the blessed Theognis (59 folios); and the rest of the manuscript (the number of folios not stated) is occupied with translations from the Homilies of Chrysostom on Matthew.

The text and translation are given in Vol. I., No. 1, of "Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature. Edited by J. Armitage Robinson, M. A., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge [England], and published by the University Press, Cambridge." It also appears as Nos. 6 and 7 of "Haverford College Studies," and it may be had from Haverford College, Pennsylvania.

Little remark need be made about the Syriac text and the English translation, unless it be to say that both are admirably done. The text seems to be pretty well preserved, except the evident dropping out of a word or two here and there, and the mis-writing of a letter now and then. The translation has much more than the usual thoroughness and scholarship of the common translations from the Syriac; for which the reasons will appear presently.

Naturally there are added notes and prolegomena; the former mainly intended to illustrate the text by the writings of Justin and the Epistle to Diognetus; but they manage to compass a few new, or almost new, contributions to the extant lexicons. As regards the prolegomena, we were accustomed to consider the Apology of Aristides the Athenian philosopher as having been actually made or transmitted or dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian; but it seems, from the considerations brought forward in these prolegomena, to belong probably to the early years of Antoninus Pius. Other matters, connected with early Christian and anti-Christian writings, there is hardly space to dwell upon; but the prolegomena will well repay the reading.

But it would be unjust, however Semitic the character of HEBRAICA may be supposed to be, to stop with this notice of the Syriac version. In the prolegomena

are given translations of the Armenian fragments, from the Venice edition, from a manuscript at Edschmiazin translated by Mr. F. C. Conybeare, of Oxford, and from Pitra. And while Professor Harris was at work over the Syriac version at Cambridge, Mr. J. Armitage Robinson (editor of these Texts and Studies), while he "was turning over Latin Passionals at Vienna in a fruitless search for a lost manuscript of the Passion of S. Perpetua," happened to recognize "words which recalled the manner and the thought of Aristides" as he was reading portions of the Latin version of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat! That, of course, was a flash-like discovery that the speech of Nachor, in the Greek version of that story, was merely, though indeed, an embodiment, by the Greek redactor and Christianizer of this old Sanskrit story, of the Apology of Aristides into the fable; yet done so neatly, beautifully and masterfully, that the most diligent scrutinizer of the Greek story of Barlaam and Josaphat has never suspected any such embodiment, nor ever thought of anything more than a fresh or original Greek composition. And this, too, notwithstanding the fact that the tracing of the story from Sanskrit into a multitude of languages, and from a heathen fable to a Christian legend, has been taken up as a task by specialists, and the whole thing sifted with a freedom that Pentateuchal critics might envy, till it seemed that its kernel and accretions were most absolutely known and severally distinguished.

Naturally, again, the work of Professor Harris would not be complete without revising his translation in the light of the Greek, and Mr. Robinson's giving a tolerably critical edition of the Greek text in the shape recoverable from the fable of Barlaam and Josaphat, with prolegomena, notes, and a critical discussion of the question how far and wherein the Syriac, the Greek and the Armenian present the original Apology of Aristides. Into the detail of this we cannot go here. It seems plain, however, that the Greek has been compressed or excised somewhat, and equally plain that the Syriac has amplified a little. It is likewise plain that we possess the style, as well as the thought and the substance of the original apology, though it may not be possible to say just where a corner has been knocked off or a piece of stucco supplied.

Messrs. Harris and Robinson have each contributed to the special portion of the other, and beautifully exemplified the proverb that two are better than one, as well as the charm of brothers in concord and unity.

The multitude of minor points discussed and illumined and elucidated in this publication, though of exceeding interest, we must pass by. The University of Cambridge in England, and Haverford College in America, are to be most warmly congratulated upon such a brilliant and interesting work; and none the less so are the authors for the scholarship, acumen and patience everywhere exhibited. (8vo, paper, pp. 118, 28. English price, five shillings).

ISAAC H. HALL,  
New York City.

#### AMIAUD AND SCHEIL'S LES INSCRIPTIONS DE SALMANASAR II.\*

Arthur Amiaud did not live to see this work brought to completion. If he had, this notice would be different in many particulars. Scheil, a student of one year, whom Amiaud associated with him in the work, is responsible for all that

\* LES INSCRIPTIONS DE SALMANASAR II. roi d'assyrie (880-824), transcrits, coordonnés, traduits et commentés par A. Amiaud et V. Scheil. Par'is: H. Welter, 1890. Pp. xiv and 120.

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